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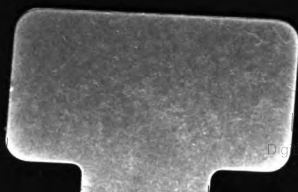
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SOME REMARKS
ON
BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S DISSERTATION ON
THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

SECOND EDITION

ALSO

PROSPECTS OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN
PRESBYTERY AND EPISCOPACY

A SYNODAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED SEPT. 19, 1882

BY

CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L.

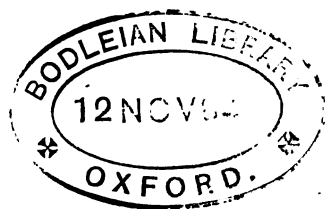
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PREFACE.

OF the two republications contained in this small volume, the former, which has been for some time out of print, first appeared in 1879, shortly before Dr Lightfoot had been elevated to the See of Durham; and in the short preface then prefixed to it, I explained that I had refrained, for the most part, from speaking of him in his episcopal character, because his Dissertation had been written many years previously, and I could not feel certain that his opinions, as expressed in it, had undergone no change in the interval. All occasion, however, for such reserve has been since removed—and accordingly, in this reprint I have freely given him the official designation he so justly bears—because a subsequent edition of his work on the Epistle to the Philippians, in 1881, contained a preface which I think it desirable to quote in full:—

“The present edition is an exact reprint of the preceding one. This statement applies as well to

the Essay on the Threefold Ministry as to the rest of the work. I should not have thought it necessary to be thus explicit, had I not been informed of a rumour that I had found reason to abandon the main opinions expressed in that Essay. There is no foundation for any such report. The only point of importance on which I have modified my views, since the Essay was first written, is the authentic form of the letters of St Ignatius. Whereas in the earlier editions of this work I had accepted the three Caretonian letters, I have since been convinced, as stated in later editions, that the seven letters of the short Greek are genuine. This divergence, however, does not materially affect the main point at issue, since even the Caretonian letters afford abundant evidence of the spread of Episcopacy in the earliest years of the second century.

“But, on the other hand, while disclaiming any change in my opinion, I desire equally to disclaim the representations of those opinions which have been put forward in some quarters. The object of the Essay was an investigation into the origin of the Christian Ministry. The result has been a confirmation of the statement in the English ordinal,—‘It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been three orders of ministers in Christ’s Church — Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.’ But I was scrupulously anxious not to overstate

the evidence in any case; and it would seem that partial and qualifying statements, prompted by this anxiety, have assumed undue proportions in the minds of some readers, who have emphasised them to the neglect of the general drift of the Essay."

The reader of the following 'Remarks' will be able, I hope, to judge how far the stumbling, which unquestionably has taken place over the teaching of the Bishop's Dissertation, is justly to be attributed to its author, and how far to those who have misunderstood and misinterpreted him.

With regard to the late Dean Stanley's share in the criticism which my 'Remarks' contain, it will not be out of place to mention what occurred on the last occasion when I had the pleasure of meeting him. It was at Megginch Castle in the summer of 1879. I was leaving the house after an early breakfast to return to St Andrews, when he followed me out at the hall-door and said: "I have been reading with pleasure your 'Remarks' on Lightfoot"—of which I had sent him a copy a few days before, but to which he had not previously alluded; "you are the kindest of controversialists;" and then taking me by both hands, as his manner was when more than commonly cordial, to bid farewell, he raised himself up, and just as I was about to step into the carriage, whispered in my ear, "We have not been quite fair to St James!" These were the last words I ever heard him speak.

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THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

SOME REMARKS ·

ON

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S DISSERTATION.

THE use that has been made, more or less directly, of Bishop Lightfoot's 'Dissertation on the Christian Ministry,' especially since his elevation to the Episcopate, in order to support the interests of *Presbyterianism*, and still more perhaps of *Indifferentism*, renders it desirable that its real teaching should be brought more fully and accurately under public notice ; and I venture to hope that the attempt which I am now to make with that object in view may be found acceptable to many, and not least to the distinguished Author himself, who will welcome, I am sure, any careful and candid effort to defend and maintain *the interests of truth*, which, in all that he has written, he has endeavoured to promote.

I have said that the Dissertation in question has been used in the interests not only of *Presbyterianism* but of *Indifferentism* ; which latter has now become

the favourite view of all the more eminent Presbyterians in Scotland, and I suppose of some of the more extreme Broad Churchmen in England. But it is not against the latter view so much as against the former that my remarks will be directed; because I have to remember that, whatever may be the private sentiments of individuals, the Presbyterian *formula* of subscription required at ordination obliges all ministers to declare their persuasion that the Presbyterian Church government is "founded upon the Word of God, and agreeable thereto;" and also obliges them, and all lay elders, to promise that they "will submit thereto, concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof." And further, I have to remember that all attempts to relax even the elders' formula have hitherto been resisted with complete success; whereas the Anglican Churches, who might make such a requirement in behalf of their own system with truth and justice, forbear to do so.¹

First, then, let me show, in part at least, that the necessity for these *remarks* exists, and how it has arisen.

My friend the Dean of Westminster—and I cannot forget that it was at his hospitable Deanery I

¹ On this subject of Subscription, see my article in the 'Nineteenth Century' for May 1878, p. 904. And compare Professor Mitchell's Introduction to 'Minutes of the Westminster Assembly,' p. lxxi, note; also p. lxxiii, and p. lxxvi.

first had the honour of making the acquaintance of the eminent scholar and divine over whose evidence and authority the present discussion is to be raised—in a sermon which he preached some months ago (March 27) at Glasgow before a large Presbyterian audience, on occasion of the Anniversary Festival of the Society of the Sons of Ministers of the Church of Scotland, and which he has since published under the title of ‘The Burning Bush,’ expressed himself as follows:—

“There was a time when it used to be the prevailing belief of English divines that Episcopacy, in the sense of the necessity of one presiding officer over every Christian community, reached back to the very first origin of the Christian society. This belief, in the enlarged atmosphere of more exact scholarship and more enlightened candour, has now been abandoned. The most learned of all the living bishops of England, whose accession to the great See of Durham has been recently welcomed by the whole Church of England with a rare unanimity and enthusiasm, has, with his characteristic moderation and erudition, proved beyond dispute, in a celebrated essay attached to his edition of ‘St Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians,’ that the early constitution of the Apostolic Churches of the first century was not that of a single pastor, but of a body of pastors indifferently styled ‘bishops’ or ‘presbyters’; that it was not till the very end of the Apostolic age that the

office which we now call the Episcopate, gradually and slowly made its way in the Churches of Asia Minor; that Presbytery was not a later growth out of Episcopacy, but that Episcopacy was a later growth out of Presbytery; that the office which the Apostles adopted was a rule not of bishops but of presbyters; and that even down to the fourth century presbyters as well as bishops possessed the power of nominating and consecrating bishops.

“The feeling which led to this primitive equality amongst the ministers of the Gospel did not altogether lose its expression, when, owing to that natural development of Christian civilisation to which I before referred, there arose the various gradations of the Christian hierarchy. Not only were the bishops of the second and third centuries, and in southern countries even down to later times, so numerous as to differ very little from the pastors of large parishes; but there were, from the commencement of the Middle Ages, even continuing in part to our own times, large exceptions from the principle of Episcopal government, which can be called by no other name than Presbyterian. The abbots throughout Europe were, for the most part, as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of bishops as if they had lived in the Presbyterian regimen of the first century at Corinth, or the eighteenth in Scotland. Those abbots, with all their dependants; the great universities, with all their ecclesiastics; the numerous peculiars which were

found till lately in the heart of every diocese in England,—were all fragments of Presbyterianism imbedded in the midst of the Episcopate. In Scotland, as is well known, the Abbatial or Presbyterian system, although not excluding the institution of bishops for the sake of purely ministerial functions, was predominant from the time of Columba until the introduction of the Anglo-Norman hierarchy by Queen Margaret. When, therefore, in the sixteenth century the Reformers in a natural reaction against the extraordinary corruption and vice which, certainly in Scotland, had tended to make the very name of Episcopacy and Prelacy odious, adopted in this country the jurisdiction of presbyters, they were reverting both to the earliest form of ecclesiastical government which the New Testament affords, and also to those large exemptions from Episcopal rule which the Middle Ages never relinquished. I need not repeat what I have already urged, that the exclusive adoption of this form of organisation implied a want of insight into the more varied needs of human nature, as well as an indifference to the charms which belong to the historic growth of European civilisation. It was a return, so to speak, towards a usage which, because primitive, was rude, undeveloped, and incomplete; and which, therefore, the mind and practice of Christendom had long outgrown. But, with all these reservations, it is still not unimportant to the general welfare of Chris-

tendom that there should be, not only in those exceptional instances which the medieval Church carefully preserved, but also in the national Church of a vigorous country like Scotland, a standing protest against the erroneous belief that the Episcopate, or the Patriarchate, or the Papacy was the original form of Christian government—against the opinion that Episcopacy is the only channel by which Christianity can be communicated to mankind. When we consider the besetting sins which accompany the concentration of power in a single person, or the temptations introduced amongst even the best of men by the graduated ambition of scaling the highest summits of the long ladder of preferment in the complex organisation of other Churches, it is not unimportant there should be examples close at hand of a more simple and a more equalised system, which, although no doubt liable to great abuses and excesses of its own, furnishes some kind of equipoise to the prevailing and preponderating systems of more southern countries.

“We all value the stability, the majesty, and the opportunities for usefulness inseparable from, and hardly to be attained without, the aid of monarchy; but the most loyal supporter of royalty, whether constitutional or despotic, will be willing to recognise the value of at least some examples of aristocratic or republican government, such as those of Italy and Switzerland in the Middle Ages, or of the United States beyond the Atlantic, which serve at once to

remind the proudest and the most beneficent sovereigns that they are not absolutely indispensable, and that some part at least of their duties can be performed by inferior and less perfectly developed constitutions. And in like manner, the staunchest Prelatist or Episcopalian may acknowledge that they may derive some useful lessons from the usage of the pastors of a Presbyterian Church, some of whom are bishops in all but the name, and many of them not less faithful ministers of their Divine Master than Fenelon or Tillotson, than 'Borromeo or Ken.'—(Pp. 19-23.)

I have thought it desirable to quote this passage in full, because, with the advantage of all the author's characteristic force of language, grace of style, and comprehension of statement, it raises the entire issue which it is my wish to bring before the reader, for his consideration and judgment, in the following pages.

And to this passage may be added, as rendering it still more complete, a further testimony to the same essay, which the Dean has given in a note to an address on 'The Historical Aspect of the American Churches,' delivered in Sion College, March 17, and subsequently published in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for June, in which he writes: "All the bishops of the second century must have been created by presbyters of the first century, and this usage continued in Alexandria down to the fourth century. See Bishop Lightfoot's exhaustive treatise on the Chris-

tian Ministry in his work on 'The Epistle to the Philippians,' p. 228 *sq.*"

Less than two months after Dean Stanley preached at Glasgow the sermon from which the long extract, just presented to the reader, is taken, a no less eminent preacher and divine of the Church of Scotland, on an occasion still more important—viz., at the opening service of the General Assembly before the Lord High Commissioner in St Giles' Cathedral, May 22—supported the argument of his discourse upon "the Ideal of the Church"—a discourse replete with the writer's characteristic excellences of philosophical moderation and literary skill—by referring as follows to the same essay of Bishop Lightfoot:

"That this conclusion may not be supposed to rest on any mere statement of mine, let me quote the words of one who may on such a subject be recognised as perhaps the greatest living authority—the recently appointed Bishop of Durham. In his well-known essay on the Christian Ministry, which has attracted wide attention, he says of the ideal of the Christian Church, which is that also of which I am speaking, that it is 'in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. . . . It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries. Above all, it has no sacerdotal system. All Christians are priests alike'" (p. 7).

But it is not only through the evidence of great occasions such as those already mentioned, that I

have been led to suppose that the execution of the task now before me may perhaps be useful, and is not uncalled for.

Before Bishop Lightfoot had been raised to the eminence which he now occupies—so deservedly—in the Church of England, his authority had been objected to me in a way which alone might suffice to justify my present attempt. A Presbyterian layman, of high literary and official eminence, happened to be present on an occasion when I consecrated a small church in my diocese, and at the same time preached what I meant to be an appropriate discourse. I had reason to think that my sermon had been favourably received not only by our own people, but by the Presbyterians present, and it was printed by special request. Soon after, however, I was sorry and disappointed to find that I had been mistaken—at least so far as regarded the estimate formed concerning it by the distinguished friend to whom I have referred. For, on the first occasion of our meeting afterwards, he took me to task at once, accosting me in language to this effect: “How could you venture to say, in that sermon which I heard you preach at ——, that Episcopacy has come down from the Apostles’ time?”—it had occurred to me to quote the opening sentence of the preface¹ to our

¹ “It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.” [See above, Preface, p. vi.]

Anglican Ordinal. "Surely you must know that one of the most learned English divines now living, Bishop Lightfoot, has admitted that it cannot be traced higher than the middle of the second century, when it appeared as a development of Presbyterianism."

Once more: in a letter which appeared only a few days ago in the 'Scottish Guardian,' June 27, from the Rev. Dr Chrystal, who succeeded Principal Tulloch as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the present year, in reply to some strictures made in that journal upon his Moderator's address, he writes: "The Scriptures furnish no evidence of a threefold hierarchy. We only read of two orders of ministers—bishops or presbyters, and deacons; and are we wrong in saying that the *present Bishop of Durham has made it plain* that during the first century there was no such Church organisation as is now advocated?"

Now I am quite persuaded that in no one of these instances was there on the part of the individuals referred to, I will not say merely the least *intention* to mislead, but the least *consciousness* of being otherwise than strictly accurate. And yet I venture to think that Bishop Lightfoot himself would scarcely accept any of those statements as conveying a thoroughly fair and adequate representation of the conclusion to which his Dissertation comes.

And how has this arisen?

Bishop Lightfoot begins by laying down the very

broadest possible basis for the argument which he proceeds to raise. So broad indeed is it, that he has no sooner laid it down than he begins immediately to qualify or contract it; because, as he admits, "if allowed to stand alone, it would suggest a false impression, or at least would convey only a half-truth." In these words we have the character of the essay foreshadowed. It requires to be read very carefully, and quoted very cautiously and very fully, or not at all. One portion of the broad statement thus alluded to and partially quoted, as we have already seen, by Principal Tulloch, is as follows:—

"The kingdom of Christ—has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and place alike are holy. Above all, it has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven."—(P. 179.)¹

But two pages further on we read, as was to be expected, a correction—almost a repudiation—in part, at least, of the negations thus broadly indicated as necessary to constitute the true ideal of the Christian Church:—

"Strict loyalty to this conception was not held incompatible with practical measures of organisation. As the Church grew in numbers, . . . it became necessary to provide for the emergency by fixed rules and

¹ My references throughout are made to the second edition of Dr Lightfoot's work, 1869.

definite officers. . . . The celebration of the first day in the week at once, the institution of annual festivals afterwards, were seen to be necessary to stimulate and direct the devotion of the believers. The appointment of definite places of meeting in the earliest days, the erection of special buildings for worship at a later date, were found indispensable to the working of the Church. But the Apostles never lost sight of the idea in their teaching. They proclaimed loudly that 'God dwelleth not in temples made by hands.' They indignantly denounced those who 'observed days, and months, and seasons, and years.' This language is not satisfied by supposing that they condemned only the temple-worship in the one case, that they reprobated only Jewish Sabbaths and new moons in the other. It was against the false principle that they waged war; the principle which exalted the means into an end, and gave an absolute intrinsic value to subordinate aids and expedients. These aids and expedients, for his own sake and for the good of the society to which he belonged, a Christian could not afford to hold lightly or neglect. But they were no part of the *essence* of God's message to man in the Gospel: they must not be allowed to obscure the idea of Christian worship.

"So it was also with the Christian priesthood."
(P. 182.)

And here let us pause and ask ourselves whether

we do not seem to be entering upon rather dangerous ground. The grand idea of Christianity here insisted on, which appears virtually to sacrifice the means to the end—which makes the latter to be “the be-all” of the Gospel, and the former to become as nothing in the comparison—is one with which in this country we have long been familiar. A former Primus of our Church, Bishop John Skinner, had to contend against it in his book, written as a reply to statements made in Principal George Campbell's posthumous ‘Lectures on Church History,’ in 1803.¹ I myself had to contend against it in my Charge of 1864, in which I undertook to answer the challenge thrown out by Principal Pirie in his Moderator's address of that year. It is an idea to which they whose “means” of Church organisation (as involving a departure from the ministry and worship of the Universal Church—*i.e.*, from two of “those inherited beliefs and traditions of Christendom, from which,” as Principal Tulloch most truly² observes, “no Church can without injury separate itself”) are liable to be called in question, will always be tempted to have recourse. But if we will believe a greater even than Bishop Lightfoot, and a predecessor of his—he himself in his Enthronisation sermon of May 15 spoke of him as “the greatest of the Bishops of Durham”—it is an idea which may become highly dangerous to

¹ See his ‘Primitive Truth and Order,’ p. 104 *sq.*

² See ‘The Ideal of the Church,’ p. 17, quoted below, p. 75.

us, if we attempt to carry it too far. Accordingly, it may be well to compare, in the first instance, the broad view of Christianity as laid down by Bishop Butler (who, be it remembered, was brought up a Presbyterian) with that of Bishop Lightfoot. After speaking of the moral design of the Gospel, as an authoritative publication of natural religion, with the addition "of a particular dispensation of Providence, the redemption of the world by the Messiah," including "the clearer light thrown upon the great doctrines of a future state, the danger of a course of wickedness, and the efficacy of repentance," Bishop Butler proceeds: "As Christianity served these ends and purposes, when it was first published, by the miraculous publication itself; so it was intended to serve the same purposes in future ages, by means of the settlement of a visible Church: of a society, distinguished from common ones, and from the rest of the world, by peculiar religious institutions; by an instituted method of instruction, and an instituted form of external religion" (Anal., part ii. c. 1, p. 210 sq.) Here we have a clear statement of a *Divine intention* from the first, as applicable to "the peculiar religious institutions" of Christianity — "an instituted method of instruction, and an instituted form of external religion." It is this which appears to be wanting in Bishop Lightfoot—as he commences his investigation, though not as he concludes it. At first he appears to see nothing in the Church but its

"freedom," its "comprehensiveness," its "universality"—together with the entire absence of "the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious." But in the end he accepts "the FACT that the form of the threefold ministry has been handed down from Apostolic times,"—not merely from the middle of the second century,—“and may well be presumed to have A DIVINE SANCTION” (p. 266).

But to return to Bishop Butler, and *his* view of Christianity. “Let it be remembered then, that religion comes under the twofold consideration of internal and external: for *the latter is as real a part of religion, of true religion, as the former*” (ibid. p. 217). And then, having drawn the distinction clearly between moral precepts and positive duties (p. 222 *sq.*), he admits—or rather he asserts, no less strongly than Bishop Lightfoot, or Principal Tulloch, or Dean Stanley would do—“that the *general* spirit of religion consists in moral piety and virtue, as distinguished from forms and ritual observances.” He takes care, however, to add—and this is what the readers of Bishop Lightfoot and Principal Tulloch may perhaps more or less desiderate in *their* several representations of the same matter: “But as it is one of the peculiar weaknesses of human nature, when, upon a comparison of two things, one is found to be of greater importance than the other, to consider this other as of scarce any importance at all;

it is highly necessary that we remind ourselves *how great presumption it is to make light of any institutions of Divine appointment*; that our obligations to obey all God's commands whatever, are absolute and indispensable; and that commands merely positive, admitted to be from Him, lay us under *a moral obligation* to obey them: an obligation *moral in the strictest and most proper sense*."—(Ibid. p. 229 sq.)

If this doctrine be sound—as I, for my part, do not doubt it is—can we venture to say (as Bishop Lightfoot seems to do) that institutions such, *e.g.*, as that of Baptism; or of the Lord's Supper, with its deeply mysterious character; or of the Lord's Day, typical as it is of the heavenly Sabbath; or even of Confirmation,¹ with its gift of the Holy Spirit,—can we venture to say that these institutions may not be of the *very essence of Christianity*? In regard to the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, we know that our Church, following the plain teaching of Scripture, has pronounced that "they are generally necessary to salvation." And can we suppose less of the institution² of the Christian ministry? Indeed, to look for a moment to the opposite view, the reader of Bishop Lightfoot may have observed how

¹ See Heb. vi. 1, 2, where it appears to be spoken of as a fundamental principle of the doctrine of Christ.

² The 'Second Book of Homilies' (of Common Prayer and Sacraments) speaks of the ordering of ministers as *a Sacrament*, "having its visible sign and promise"; though not *such* a Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion (p. 316).

the broad negative statement with which he opens his Dissertation, appeared to break down even when he began to qualify it. "The Gospel," he writes, "is contrasted with the Law, as the spirit with the letter. Its ethical principle is NOT¹ a code of positive ordinances, but conformity to a perfect Exemplar, incorporation into a Divine society. This distinction is most important and eminently fertile in practical results." But then he presently adds, in words which I have had occasion partially to quote before: "Strict loyalty to this conception was not held incompatible with practical measures of organisation. As the Church grew in numbers, it became necessary to provide for the emergency by fixed rules and definite officers. The celebration of the first day in the week at once, the institution of annual festivals afterwards, were seen to be necessary to stimulate and direct the devotion of the believers. The appointment of definite places of meeting in the earliest days, the erection of special buildings for worship at a later date, were found indispensable to the working of the Church. But the Apostles never lost sight of the idea in their teaching. They proclaimed loudly that 'God dwelleth not in temples made by hands'" (p. 182). Yes! but when S. Stephen made use of those words (Acts

¹ Is not this put in rather too strong contrast with our Lord's own words in the Sermon on the Mount: "I am not come to destroy the law, &c., but to fulfil"?

vii. 48), he was only repeating what Solomon had said 900 years before *under the Law* (1 Kings viii. 27). And so with regard to the observance of the Lord's Day. Certain it is that the Christian Church from the first has insisted on the positive precept and duty of obedience to the *Fourth Commandment* (in its Christian application) no less than upon the positive precepts and duties of the *other nine*. S. Paul's injunction for an offertory collection on the first day of the week (1 Cor. xvi. 2) as a day already of fixed observance, is scarcely consistent with what follows: "They [the Apostles] indignantly denounced those who 'observed days, and months, and seasons, and years.' This language is not satisfied by supposing that they reprobated only Jewish Sabbaths and new moons, &c. It was against the false principle that they waged war; the principle which exalted the means into an end, and gave an absolute intrinsic value to subordinate aids and expedients. These aids and expedients, for his own sake and for the good of the society to which he belonged, a Christian could not afford to hold lightly or neglect. But they were no part of the *essence* of God's message to man in the Gospel: they must not be allowed to obscure the idea of Christian worship. So it was also with the Christian priesthood."—(P. 182.)

For my own part, if I may be allowed to say so with all due respect, I do not feel satisfied with the

tenor of the foregoing remarks as laying an adequate or satisfactory foundation for a discussion on the institution of the Christian ministry.¹ It tempts us altogether to forget that the institution of which we are to trace the upgrowth is not human, but Divine. It attributes far too much to mere secondary causes, and leaves no room for the operation of those which lay beyond the sphere of this lower world. The formal institution of the Apostolate, *before* "the Church grew in numbers"—and again, notwithstanding that the number of professed disciples had shrunk to about 120, the alleged *necessity* (δεῖ) for the appointment of one to fill the place of the traitor Judas (Acts i. 21), so that the duodecemvirate might be again complete,—betoken the operation of causes which we cannot trace if we are to look *merely* to the surface of historical events. And so, when all sacerdotalism under the Gospel is denied by Bishop Lightfoot (p. 179), and all Christians as individuals are pronounced to be "priests alike" (p. 183, and comp. pp. 243, 260)—which might have been said in a

¹ Bishop Lightfoot's confidence in himself and in his own theory will be best understood from the following passage: "The careful student will observe that this idea [of a universal priesthood] has been very imperfectly apprehended; that *throughout the history of the Church* it has been struggling for recognition, at most times discerned in some of its aspects, but *at all times wholly ignored in others*; and that, therefore, the actual results are a very inadequate measure of its efficiency, *if only it could assume due prominence, and were allowed free scope in action*" (p. 181). What do these ominous words imply?

certain sense, and is said, as Bishop Lightfoot points out (p. 180), by God Himself, equally of all Jews under the law,¹—I can scarcely suppose he means to assert—though others, perhaps, would not scruple to assert it for him—that no special grace or gift of the Spirit is conveyed in the laying on of hands of Episcopal Ordination or Episcopal Confirmation; or that, if there is, any presbyter, nay, any deacon or any layman of the diocese of Durham, is equally competent to convey the same. And yet the words he uses at p. 184 seem to admit of no other inference: “The most exalted office in the Church, the highest gift of the Spirit, conveyed no sacerdotal right which was not enjoyed by the humblest member of the Christian community.”²

Afterwards (p. 257) he lays down the democratic principle that the Christian *people* are the only true source of all power in the Church; it is with them, and not with “the eleven”³ and their successors,

¹ Exod. xix. 6. Cp. Rev. i. 6, and Isa. lxvi. 21.

² Principal Tulloch, though, as quoted above, he appears to adopt the language of Bishop Lightfoot, does in fact, for himself, take higher ground. He speaks of “the Divine *charisma* imparted to Timothy by his ordination to the Christian ministry;” and he describes this *charisma* or gift as “the special qualification of Timothy for his high office of pastor and bishop in the Church.”—‘Ideal of the Church,’ p. 3. [See below, p. 134, note.]

³ See Matt. xxviii. 16-20. The Introduction to our Scottish Code of Canons, p. x, assumes that the great commission there spoken of (comp. Mark xvi. 14-16) was addressed to the *eleven Apostles only*, and speaks of it as “the fundamental charter” of the Church. Meyer, *in loc.*, is of the same opinion; and so is Bishop Moberly,

that Christ promises *to be even unto the end of the world* (p. 267): the Apostolic doctrine, so he writes in the former place, consisting in this, that the priesthood of the ministry is to be regarded as springing from the priesthood of the whole body; any other view indicates "a divergence from primitive truth" (p. 257).

But it is time to enter upon the stages of the investigation through which Bishop Lightfoot is now waiting to conduct us in chronological order. I have spoken elsewhere¹ of the value which I attached seven years ago to "the critical, and, so to speak, scientific spirit of Bishop Lightfoot's essay—entirely in harmony as it is with the most advanced scholarship of the present day—its thoroughly accurate and profound research, its calm judicial tone, and above all, its transparent impartiality, *leading the writer to distrust conclusions in favour of his own clerical position rather than the contrary*;" and I have no wish to revoke or disavow this favourable estimate; only, upon the more close inspection which is now called for, I shall have occasion to give some evidence for the conviction which I have all along entertained, that the ground taken up is *lower than the truth de-*

'Great Forty Days,' p. 45; but Bishop Ellicott, 'Hist. Lect.,' p. 411, takes the other side. [See my Charge for 1882 reprinted below, p. 129 sq.]

¹ Preface to my 'Outlines of the Christian Ministry,' published in 1872.

mands ; and that the *concessions made in favour of a non-Episcopal ministry*—in not a few of the details, though not in the conclusion arrived at—*may require*, if we will be strictly just, to be *reconsidered and recalled*. To proceed, then, to the task before us : and, first,

OF THE EPISCOPATE OF JAMES AT JERUSALEM.

This Episcopate was founded, if we will believe Epiphanius and Chrysostom, by our Lord Himself ; and His remarkable appearance, recorded only by S. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7), to James alone, after His resurrection, does not seem capable of being otherwise accounted for ; or, if we will take the word of Clement of Alexandria, of Eusebius, and of Jerome, it was founded by the Apostles after the Ascension. There is, however, no real inconsistency between the two accounts ; for the Apostles, knowing that he had been *designated* by our Lord, would naturally give effect to the appointment ; and so Eusebius, in another passage, and the Apostolical Constitutions, agree in stating that “he was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord Himself and His Apostles.” In addition to the above-named authorities, we have also Papias (the disciple of S. John), Hegesippus, Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Augustine, and the unknown author of the ‘Synopsis S. Scripturæ,’ ascribed to S. Athanasius, all concurring in the fact itself that

James was Bishop—the first Bishop—of Jerusalem.¹ And be it remembered that before the time of the earliest of all those authorities there had ceased to be any ambiguity in the use of the Episcopal designation: it meant *one who had been promoted to the highest order of the threefold ministry.*

And now what says Bishop Lightfoot upon the subject of this Episcopate? He is not very willing to see in James anything more than a Moderator² of the body of presbyters, whose early institution, as an order of the Christian ministry, though not expressly recorded, he recognises—no less than he recognises the appointment of the Order of Deacons—in the early days of the Church at Jerusalem (p. 190). He considers that the Second Persecution, in which James the brother of John suffered martyrdom (Acts xii. 2), “was the signal for the dispersion of the Twelve on a wider mission.” He continues: “Since Jerusalem would no longer be the home of the Twelve, it became necessary to provide for the permanent direction of the Church there; and for *this purpose the usual government of the Synagogue would be adopted.* Now, at all events, for the first time, we read of ‘presbyters’ in connection with the Christian brotherhood at Jerusalem. From this time

¹ See the author’s ‘Synodal Address,’ 1866, Appendix, pp. 63-69, in which all the passages above referred to will be found quoted at length from the original authorities. Also ‘Outlines,’ pp. 62-65.

² This is also the view of the Presbyterian Mosheim.

forward all official communications with the mother Church are carried on through their intervention. To the presbyters Barnabas and Saul bear the alms contributed by the Gentile Churches. The presbyters are persistently associated with the Apostles in convening the congress, in the superscription of the decree, and in the general settlement of the dispute between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. By the presbyters S. Paul is received many years later on his last visit to Jerusalem, and to them he gives an account of his missionary labours and triumphs." —(P. 191.)

In this view Bishop Lightfoot appears, for the time, to sweep away all regard for the patristical and historical testimony referred to above, and to have recourse only to his own conjecture respecting the *Synagogue government*—a conjecture supported, as we shall presently see, by little or nothing more than a questionable application of the single text, Acts xi. 30. And this is the more remarkable—and the more to be regretted—because he has himself most judiciously laid down the rule that, upon the subject before us, "in this clamour of antagonistic opinions, history is obviously the sole upright and impartial referee;" and he has added the promise, "the historical mode of treatment will therefore be strictly adhered to in the following investigation" (p. 185). Is not, then, the statement of Hegesippus to be depended on, when, in a fragment preserved by

both Eusebius and Jerome, he records that "James, the Lord's brother, who was surnamed the Just, received the government of the Church at Jerusalem *with* [*μετὰ* implying here, probably, the concurrence and support of] the Apostles"?¹ Earlier in the same Book of his History (c. 11), Eusebius himself, describing the course pursued by the Apostles immediately after Christ's ascension, writes as follows: "First, then, Matthias was chosen by lot to be an Apostle in the place of the traitor Judas. There were also appointed, by prayer, and laying on of hands of the Apostles, approved men, seven in number, of whom Stephen was one, to the office of deacons, for the public service. Then, too, it was that *James*, called the brother of our Lord, whom our forefathers, on account of the excellence of his virtue, surnamed the Just, was called to occupy the See (*θρόνον*) of the Church at Jerusalem—so our records inform us²—as the first Bishop." Is not Eusebius to be believed when he writes thus? Again, in the twenty-third chapter of the same book, Eusebius writes: "The Jews, having been disappointed in

¹ See Euseb. H. E. ii. 23; Jerom. De Vir. Illust. The latter has "post Apostolos," and in the Greek *μετὰ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους*.

² Elsewhere (lib. v. c. 18) he mentions a tradition, preserved by Apollonius the Apologist, who suffered martyrdom under Commodus (A.D. 180-192), that "our Saviour commanded His disciples not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years." This may account for the absence of James's name in the Acts till ch. xii. 17.—See Shirley's 'Apostolic Age,' p. 10 and note.

the plot which they had contrived against Paul, turned themselves against *James* the Lord's brother, to whom the See (*θρόνος*) of the Episcopate at Jerusalem had been committed by the Apostles;" and then follows a most remarkable and affecting account derived from Hegesippus of the manner in which he suffered martyrdom, a narration which is also confirmed in part by Josephus. Testimony to the same effect is repeated twice again in the third book, in the fifth and seventh chapters. In the same book also, chapter xi., we read the appointment of his successor as follows: "After the martyrdom of James, and the taking of Jerusalem, which immediately followed, it is commonly reported that the apostles and disciples of the Lord who were still alive, together with those of His kindred according to the flesh (many of whom had survived until that time), met together and consulted whom they should fix upon as worthy to succeed James. And all, with one accord, agreed on Simeon the son of Cleophas (who is mentioned in the Gospel) as a fit and proper person to occupy the Bishop's See (*θρόνον*) in that diocese, being himself also a cousin of our Saviour." Once more, in the seventh book of the same historian, chapter xix., we read that the chair in which James used to sit as Bishop had been carefully kept as a memorial and was wont to be shown to visitors, just as the chair of the Venerable Bede is still preserved in the church of Jarrow; and in that passage

it is distinctly stated (as quoted above) that he was "appointed first Bishop of Jerusalem *by our Saviour Himself and His Apostles.*"

Once more I ask, is not Eusebius to be believed when he makes these statements? And if not, why is this? At p. 200 Bishop Lightfoot writes—"As early as the middle of the second century *all parties* concur as representing James as a Bishop in the strict sense of the term." Again I ask, why are not *all parties* to be believed?

But to revert to Holy Scripture. Let us see what it is that, with the New Testament in our hands, we require to know.

We require to know why our Lord, after His resurrection, should have appeared to "James" singly (1 Cor. xv. 7). Who was this James, and why was this honour bestowed upon him?

We require to know why S. Peter, when he had escaped from prison, and came by night to the house of Mary—the mother of John Mark—where many disciples were gathered together praying, and when he had related to them his strange adventure, added, "Go show these things unto *James* and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17),—not, be it observed, to the presbyters.

We require to know why James, who (whether he were an Apostle or not¹) has no prominence given to him in the Gospels, should have had so much prom-

¹ Bishop Lightfoot is of opinion (p. 195) that he was *not* one of the Twelve.

inence assigned to him in the Acts, and especially at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.), where—if the Apostles were not all present, certainly Peter and Paul and Barnabas were—he acted as president, and, in the words of Bishop Lightfoot, “suggested the decision, and appears to have framed the decree” (p. 195).

We require to know why it was that on three, if not four, several occasions, which embrace together a period of at least twenty years, James was found by S. Paul in residence at Jerusalem, and visited by that great Apostle and Missionary of the Gentiles, as one whom it concerned even him to see and to confer with. For first visit, A.D. 37, see Gal. i. 18, 19; Acts xxii. 17-21; 2 Cor. xii. 1-9. For second visit, A.D. 50-51, see Acts xv. 2; Gal. ii. 1-10. For third visit, A.D. 58, see Acts xxi. 18.

We require to know why, in Gal. ii. 9, S. Paul describes him as a “a pillar,” and places him as such before even Peter and John.

We require to know why it was that at Antioch certain persons of Jerusalem, who represented themselves as having come (not from the Presbytery of Jerusalem, but) “from James,” had sufficient influence to induce both S. Peter and S. Barnabas to alter their course of conduct upon a difficult question of the first importance (Gal. ii. 12).

We require to know why, in the New Testament, the Epistle of S. James should stand first in the order of the Catholic Epistles—before those of S. Peter and

S. John; and why S. Jude should designate himself in part as "the brother of James" (Jude i.), and should be so designated by S. Luke, both in his Gospel, vi. 15, and in the Acts, i. 13.

Now I submit that the theory of a *Synagogue* and of a *Presbytery with a Moderator*, will not enable us to answer these questions at all sufficiently; yet they are questions upon which we require satisfaction as in a matter of prime importance; because we are persuaded that what was done at Jerusalem, the mother Church, while the Apostles were still residing there together, by their joint authority—that is, by the direction of the Holy Ghost—was done everywhere by each of them singly, when they were dispersed, throughout the Churches in Gentile lands.

On the other hand, what is it that a maintainer of the opposite—*i.e.*, the Presbyterian—theory, requires to know?

He requires us to explain why the alms of the Gentile disciples collected for the relief of the poor brethren which dwelt in Judæa, and conveyed by the hands of Barnabas and Saul, were sent to the elders (presbyters) and not to James, as the Bishop (Acts xi. 30).

Observe, it is not said, "which dwelt in Jerusalem," but "in Judæa"; neither is it said that the presbyters were presbyters of Jerusalem. They may have belonged to congregations in country places; in which case it was only natural to send the contri-

bution direct to them. And further, be it observed, that the matter being one of finance—and of charitable finance—the presbyters may have been thought the more suitable party to communicate with; especially when we remember the action of the Apostles themselves in declining to “serve tables” on the occasion somewhat similar, which led to the appointment of the seven deacons.

In the other two instances to which Bishop Lightfoot refers in support of his Synagogue or Presbyterian theory, he scarcely exhibits (as it appears to me) his usual strictness of careful and accurate representation.

1. It is quite true that the presbyters are persistently associated with the Apostles in the matter of the Jerusalem Synod—“in convening the congress, in the superscription of the decree,” &c.—and that no special mention is made of James in these respects; but if James were an Apostle, as many have supposed, this would not be necessary;¹ and in any case, if *his name* had been put prominently and singly forward in such documents, might not this have exposed him to an imminent risk of incurring the same untimely end as that which early befell S. Stephen, and S. James, the brother of John, and which did eventually overtake himself, as we have seen from Eusebius, when his actual position had become more notorious?

¹ See ‘*Outlines*,’ p. 66.

2. Is it quite correct to say, as Bishop Lightfoot has said without any mention of James, that "*by the presbyters* S. Paul is received many years later on his last visit to Jerusalem, and *to them* he gives an account of his missionary labours and triumphs"? What we read is: "And the day following Paul went in unto James, and all the elders (presbyters) were present." The Bishop's statement exhibits to us a presbytery in session, and nothing more. In the statement which the writer of the Acts conveys to us, we seem to discover a Bishop, surrounded by his presbyters, in a diocesan synod. And I may add that we seem to catch the same view, not of a Moderator, but of a Bishop discharging his episcopal functions, when S. James in his Epistle gives directions to those that are sick to "send for the presbyters of the Church," and on the other hand, to the presbyters themselves when so sent for, "to pray over them," v. 14.

Hitherto, then, has there been any evidence whatever in favour of Presbytery? Has there been anything whatever to justify the assertion that "the Presbyterian form of Church government is founded upon the Word of God, and agreeable thereto"? Has not all the evidence we have yet seen, both Scriptural and historical, been in favour of a prelatical episcopate, and of a threefold ministry? And if the evidence, after all, is not in all points so full or so distinct as we could wish, we know how this is to be accounted for.

1. Bishop Lightfoot justly remarks: "The first disciples conformed to the religion of their fathers in all essential points, practising circumcision, observing the Sabbath, and attending the Temple worship" (p. 190). They had occasion, indeed, for a ministry of their own, if only to celebrate "the breaking of the bread," and for special prayers, as well as for special preaching and instruction (see Acts ii. 42, 46); but they studiously avoided, as far as possible, all unnecessary interference with the Jewish hierarchy—the threefold ministry of the law—until it should be "taken out of the way" in God's own time, by the destruction of Jerusalem.¹

2. The necessity for cautious measures, and the duty of withdrawing themselves from persecution, would naturally tend to the same result. But I see no reason whatever to doubt that the episcopal succession at Jerusalem, as Eusebius represents it, basing it upon James, and continuing it downward through Simeon, Justus, &c., is substantially correct. Such it is evidently regarded by Mr Fynes Clinton;² nor, after all, does Bishop Lightfoot, as he advances further into his essay, materially dissent from the same estimate of its trustworthiness (see p. 206).

But to return to the essay in its earlier stage.

¹ See 'Outlines,' p. 70, and 'Nineteenth Century,' May 1878, p. 897 *sq.*

² See 'Fasti Romani,' vol. ii. p. 534, and p. 556.

The name *Episcopus*¹ does not occur in the Acts in connection with the Church of Jerusalem, nor is any other such name given to S. James, only he has been seen again and again in an episcopal and prelatial position; just as the name of Christians was not given to the disciples at the first, nor first at Jerusalem, but at Antioch, though multitudes had lived and died as Christians. But in his discussion concerning *Presbyters* at Jerusalem, Bishop Lightfoot has been led to take account of their other name, or rather descriptive designation, *Episcopi* or *Overseers* (not over one another but "in the flock," see Acts xx. 28), which comes up afterwards in the Acts and in S. Paul; and in so doing he has committed himself to what appears to me the *πρώτον ψεῦδος*—the prime blemish of his Dissertation—viz., "that the Episcopate, properly so called, would seem to have been developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the Episcopate was formed not out of the Apostolic order by localisation, but out of the Presbyteral by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them" (p. 194; see also p. 225).

Now, as applied to Jerusalem—of the Gentile Churches we shall speak presently—what evidence is there of this theory? Bishop Lightfoot, indeed, admits that "James, the Lord's brother, and James

¹ Only *ἐπισκοπή* is used of the Apostolic office from which Judas fell, Acts i. 20.

alone, within the period compassed by the Apostolic writings, can claim to be regarded as Bishop in the later and more special sense of the term" (p. 195). But he attained to the office, we are told, only gradually, through this process of development; "not out of the Apostolic order by localisation, but out of the Presbyteral by elevation;" *not through any designation by our Lord, nor through any appointment by the Apostles*, but, as we are left to infer, by election from among the Presbyters, with or without consecration by them, through his own special merits and the force of his own personal character. And so Bishop Lightfoot writes: "We might expect to find in the mother Church of Jerusalem, which, as the earliest founded, would soonest ripen into maturity, the first traces of this developed form of the ministry. Nor is this expectation disappointed" (p. 195). Accordingly, the precedence given to him in the language of S. Paul (Gal. ii. 9), his presidency at the Apostolic Council, &c., are referred to, and noticed as the "more remarkable, if, as seems to be the case, he was not one of the Twelve." But then, it is added: "On the other hand, though especially prominent, he appears in the Acts as a member of a body." And again: though "singled out from the rest and placed in a position of superior responsibility, he remains a member of the Presbyteral Council" (p. 205). The proofs of this, which have all been already noticed—(viz., Acts xii. 17, xxi. 18, xi. 30, comp. xv. 4, 23,

xvi. 4)—appear, as I have shown, to be insufficient; but nevertheless Bishop Lightfoot is not deterred from drawing his conclusion, which is as follows: "If in some passages S. James is named by himself, in others he is omitted, and the Presbyters alone are mentioned. From this it may be inferred that, though holding a superior position to the rest, he was still considered as a *member of the Presbytery*; that he was in fact *the head or president of the college*" (p. 196).

Had Bishop Lightfoot enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing the present system of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, instead of that of the Church of England; had he seen the meetings, required annually by our canon, of a Bishop with his Clergy in Diocesan Synods—forming a Council, "a worthy spiritual coronal" round the Bishop, as we see them in Ignatius¹—he would have been less inclined, I believe, to draw the shadowy distinction to which he appears to cling; and would have thrown himself at once without misgiving upon the simple acceptance of his own statements: "James, the Lord's brother, . . . can claim to be regarded as a Bishop in the later and more special sense of the term" (p. 195). "The Episcopal office existed in the mother Church of Jerusalem from very early days, at least in a rudimentary form" (p. 196). How could it have existed otherwise than in such a form in very early days, and when the whole body of the Apostles, who would

¹ See 'Ep. Magn.' c. 13. Comp. Bishop Lightfoot, p. 255.

at once screen and overshadow the Bishop, was still remaining there? "It seems vain to deny with Rothe that the position of James in the mother Church furnished the precedent and the pattern of the later Episcopate" (p. 204). "The Church of Jerusalem, as I have already pointed out, presents the earliest instance of a Bishop" (p. 206). And James, be it remembered, was put to death A.D. 67 or 70.¹

Whether James is "the *only one* within the period compassed by the Apostolic writings" who can make the allowed claim—whether "the New Testament presents no distinct traces of such organisation in the Gentile congregations" (p. 196), as Bishop Lightfoot asserts—is next to be considered.

OF THE EPISCOPATE IN THE GENTILE CHURCHES.

Now, what we shall want to know is—

1. From whence the ordination of ministers was to be derived.
2. How the superintendence of the ordained was to be carried on.

We shall have to ask—

Did they ordain each other?

Did they superintend each other?

And if the answer be in the affirmative, then—but not otherwise—we shall *pronounce* that Presbytery is founded on the Word of God and agreeable thereto ;"

¹ See Fynes Clinton, 'Fasti Romani,' vol. ii. p. 556.

then we shall find that the Presbyterian formula of subscription in the ordination of ministers and elders is strictly justifiable, and ought to be retained.

In pursuing this inquiry we shall not need to be told that in Gentile lands recourse must be had at first to *extraordinary ministrations*, such as S. Paul speaks of at Corinth and elsewhere. Neither shall we need to trouble ourselves about the use of the names, afterwards assigned to the three orders of the ministry, knowing how indeterminately all such words as APOSTOLUS¹—*Legate, Envoy, Messenger*; ANGELUS—*Messenger*, human and divine; EPISCOPUS—*Overseer, Superintendent*; PRESBYTER—*Senior, Elder*; DIACONUS—*Minister, Servitor*; might be, and actually were, employed, until they became so assigned; and how impossible it is, and must be, to ascertain the precise time in each particular Church when the indeterminate use of the names ceased, and the determinate use began. We shall not only admit—we shall strenuously maintain—that the terms *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* are so far used synonymously that they may—and in some instances *must*—relate to the same order of the Ministry; for otherwise we shall be in danger of falling into the opposite error to that of Presbytery—viz., the error of Irvingism or Drummondism, which holds four orders as essential to complete the

¹ Compare ARCHON, *Ruler, Magistrate*, among the Greeks; and IMPERATOR, *General, Emperor*, among the Romans. See 'Outlines,' pp. 151-154.

ministry of the Church—viz., *Apostles, Bishops, Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. But as between these two opposite opinions, what is the view which the Church from the beginning has always held? On the one hand, it has neither held the obligation of the continuance of the Apostolate, as superior to, and distinct from, a Prelatical Episcopate; nor, on the other hand, has it regarded the Apostolate as a temporary office which altogether “fell away” and ceased, in order to make room for a government of parity by Presbyters, which is the view of Presbyterians, and I regret to say also, as it would seem, of Bishop Lightfoot (p. 184); thus setting aside the distinct testimony of Firmilian, Bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, writing A.D. 250,—and of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, writing A.D. 254,—both of whom assert that Bishops succeeded the Apostles “*vicariâ ordinatione*”—i.e., by an ordination which placed them in the Apostles’ room.¹ He admits, indeed, that this system of parity did not last; when “arrived at its mature and normal state,” it has developed into Prelacy; but he speaks of it as being the first stage of that “permanent ministry which gradually emerged, as the Church assumed a more settled form, and the higher but temporary offices, such as the Apostolate, fell away” (p. 184). It is thus that he seems to undermine, if not actually to withdraw, “the foundation of the Apostles and prophets,” upon which the Church was built, so far

¹ See ‘*Outlines*,’ p. 104 *sq.*

as Episcopacy is concerned; and so, his result is, that at the close of the Apostolic age, whereas "the two lower orders of the ministry were firmly and widely established, traces of the third and highest order, the Episcopate properly so called, are few and indistinct:" so few, indeed, and so indistinct, that *within that period*¹ no Bishop, except James at Jerusalem, of whom we have spoken, is to be found at all; "Episcopacy still lies beyond the horizon" (p. 196).

Now certainly this is not the view which English divines, under the teaching of the Fathers, have been accustomed to take hitherto; and *so far* Dean Stanley is quite correct and justified in pointing to Bishop Lightfoot's essay as the commencement of a new era in the Anglican treatment of this question. They would have granted to Bishop Lightfoot that "the functions of the Apostles and the (Prelatical) Bishops were *not* identical;" that they "differed widely"—not so widely, however, but that the latter office was *substantially a continuation of the former*, so far as circumstances widely different (the founding and building up of Churches) admitted and required. They would not have allowed that the Prelatical Episcopate was "a development from the subordinate office" (p. 194); if this is to mean that the

¹ If "the Apostolic age" and "the period compassed by the Apostolic writings" are to be understood as commensurate. The death of S. John, A.D. 100, determines the former; but the doubt as to the date of the Apocalypse may render the latter less definite.

subordinate office had ever the right or the possession of *supreme government*, or of *ordination*, or of *confirmation*; nor admitted it in any other sense than that men were commonly Presbyters before they were made (Prelatical) Bishops, whether directly by the Apostles or by other (Prelatical) Bishops whom some one or more of the Apostles had previously consecrated as such. And I cannot but think that the Scriptural proof is as clear to this effect, nay, clearer than it is to the "firm and wide establishment of the two lower orders of the threefold ministry," which Bishop Lightfoot allows (p. 193). Where, indeed, we may ask, are those two orders seen without a Prelate to *ordain* them first, and to guide and *govern* them afterwards? NOWHERE! Where are they ever found as self-sufficient for their own government or their own propagation? NOWHERE!

NOT AT EPHEBUS. There we have a body of Presbyters, duly ordained doubtless by S. Paul; but we nowhere read of their *ordaining others*, or of their *Episcopising*—i.e., exercising superintendence over—*each other*, but only, as before observed, ἐν πομπῇ (Acts xx. 28). And if as Presbyters they had been competent to do either of these things, then we desire to learn—and I venture to request Bishop Lightfoot's particular attention to this point—why Timothy—who, we know, had also been ordained¹

¹ See 2 Tim. i. 6, and 1 Tim. iv. 14.

by (διὰ) S. Paul, and on one occasion at least *with* (μετὰ) the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery (which is the present Anglican usage in ordination of Priests)—should have been appointed and directed, as he is (1 Tim. i. 3, iii. 1-14, v. 1, 17, 21, 22), to discharge the said functions, thus setting aside and overriding the authority of the Presbytery? To me it seems simply impossible to reconcile that fact with Bishop Lightfoot's view. It makes no difference whether Timothy's authority was to be permanent, or only temporary. The Presbytery, in full existence some five or six years before (Acts xx. 28), are *not* directed to ordain, and Timothy *is*. Bishop Lightfoot admits that during the *first stage* of organisation in the Gentile congregations, "the Apostles themselves were the superintendents of each individual Church" (p. 197). Present or absent, each kept the "care of all the Churches" he had founded in his own hands. At this point it is desirable to quote in full Bishop Lightfoot's own words:—

"But the wider spread of the Gospel would diminish the frequency of their visits and impair the efficiency of such supervision. In the *second stage*, therefore, we find them, at critical seasons and in important congregations, delegating some trustworthy disciple who should fix his abode in a given place for a time and direct the affairs of the Church there. The Pastoral Epistles present this second stage to our view. *It is the conception of a later age*

which represents Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus and Titus as Bishop of Crete. S. Paul's own language implies that the position which they held was temporary. In both cases their term of office is drawing to a close when the Apostle writes."—(P. 179.)

In opposition to this view we may place that of a late Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, a very competent authority—I mean Dr Shirley—who, in an essay which was published in the year before Bishop Lightfoot's (1867), but which perhaps had not come under his notice, wrote as follows:—

“That the office committed to Timothy and to Titus was in fact *Episcopal in the full range of its power*, is beyond a serious question. It has, however, been contended that their commission differed essentially from that of the proper Bishop, in being only temporary. To Timothy it is intimated in the First Epistle (1 Tim. i. 3) that the only need for the Apostolic instructions depends on the chance of the Apostle's delayed return. In the second he is bidden to come to the Apostle himself, leaving the Church of Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21). And Titus in the same way is bidden, after setting in order the things which are wanting in Crete, to join the Apostle at Nicopolis (Tit. iii. 12). The objection in the case of Titus admits only of the answer that the injunction of S. Paul is utterly insufficient to support the conclusion which has thus been based upon it. The assumption, therefore, that the commission of Titus

was temporary, is *one of pure conjecture, and without a known parallel in the whole history of the Church.* In the case of Timothy the reply is yet more complete; for the Apostle bases the peculiar earnestness of his language upon the assurance which he possesses that the time of his own departure was at hand, and that Timothy would have to meet, without the aid of the Apostle, the perils of a time when men would not endure sound doctrine, or the discipline of an ordered ministry (2 Tim. iv. 1-6). The work of Timothy, therefore, was *not to end with his winter's visit to S. Paul*; it was to be renewed with even greater earnestness when S. Paul was removed by death."¹

In the case of S. James at Jerusalem I had occasion to remark that Bishop Lightfoot appeared to discard "history," though he had himself spoken of it as "the sole upright impartial referee." And he does the same in the case of Timothy. When he rejects his Episcopate of Ephesus "as the conception of a later age," he refers in a note to 'Const. Apost.' vii. 46; Euseb. 'H. E.' iii. 4, and later writers, who all assert it. These writers include Jerome, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Hilary the Deacon, and others. I forbear to quote them. But there is one piece of historical evidence bearing upon the point which, whether known or not to Bishop Lightfoot, he will, I am

¹ See 'Some Account of the Church in the Apostolic Age,' p. 116 sq.

sure, admit to be of some interest, if not, as it seems to me, of conclusive authority, and as such worthy to be produced. It is this. Among the acts of the fourth General Council, held at Chalcedon in A.D. 451, it is recorded that a dispute having arisen as to the right of consecrating a Bishop to the See of Ephesus, then vacant, whether it might be exercised by that present Council, or whether it properly appertained to the Provincial Synod of Asia, one of the speakers in the debate, Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, stated as a fact that "from holy Timothy to their own time, there had been twenty-seven Bishops of that See, and that all of them had been consecrated in Ephesus itself."¹ So that the Episcopal succession had been kept up there from Timothy downwards, just as from James downwards it was kept up at Jerusalem.

But after all, the question whether Timothy's Episcopate was temporary or permanent is of no great importance. We are in search of a Presbytery with powers to *ordain* and to *govern*, and so far we have not found one. On the contrary, what we have found is a Prelacy, with powers to do both. And so Bishop Lightfoot, though he had certainly led us to expect a Presbytery, himself finds. After the passage last quoted from his Dissertation, he proceeds:—

"But the conception [which represents Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus] is not altogether without foundation. With less permanence, but perhaps greater

¹ See Labbe, 'Conc.,' vol. iv. p. 700. And comp. 'Outlines,' p. 54.

authority, the position occupied by these Apostolic delegates nevertheless fairly represents the functions of the Bishop early in the second century. They were in fact the link between the Apostle whose superintendence was occasional and general, and the Bishop who exercised a permanent supervision over an individual congregation" (p. 197.) We must not, however, make too much of this admission; for two pages afterwards we read, equally to our disappointment and surprise,—“As late as the year 70”—the date of the Pastoral Epistles being 65-67—“*no distinct signs of Episcopal government* have hitherto appeared in Gentile Christendom.”

But we are not yet beyond the notices of the Apostolic writings, and we have not yet taken leave of Ephesus. There is the Revelation of S. John to be considered, in which the Church of Ephesus reappears (c. ii. 1-7) as one of the seven Churches—after how long an interval, whether of three, ten, twenty, or thirty years, we cannot positively say, because the date of the writing of that book is much disputed. Bishop Lightfoot, as we shall presently discover, is in favour of the earlier date. But in any case we are as much at a loss as before to find any symptoms of Presbytery. What we do find is “an angel” of each Church. Bishop Lightfoot will not allow us to understand a Bishop under this designation. He sees in it either “the celestial guardian, or only a personification—the idea or spirit—of the

Church." And one, and apparently the conclusive, reason for his adopting this interpretation cannot fail to add to the surprise and disappointment we before felt. Assuming the very shortest possible interval, "probably not more than two or three years"—others would say more probably thirty¹—between the Pastoral Epistles and the Book of Revelation, and assuming further (we have seen upon what insufficient grounds) that no distinct traces of Episcopal government had appeared in the former, he holds it to be "scarcely possible that the Episcopal organisation could have been so mature," as the other interpretation of the name "angel" would imply, when the latter book was written. The interval supposed "would," he thinks, "be quite insufficient to account for so great a change in the administration of the Asiatic Churches" (p. 198 *sq.*) What, then, in fact would be "the great change" which we are forbidden to consider possible? Let Timothy have become permanent Bishop, if not before, after S.

¹ The Bishop of Lincoln and the late Dean Alford, though belonging to very different schools of Biblical criticism, both take the side opposed to Bishop Lightfoot's assumption, and both speak very positively. The former writes: "The received opinion of ancient Christendom will not easily be disturbed by that spirit of scepticism which has unhappily shown itself in some quarters in recent times. . . . We may therefore hold fast the belief that the Book of Revelation was written at the close of the reign of Domitian, who died A.D. 96" (p. 154). The opinion of the latter is thus stated: "I have no hesitation in believing with the ancient Fathers, and most competent witnesses, that the Apocalypse was written about the year 95 or 96 A.D." (p. 236).

Paul's death; or let Timothy be dead, and a permanent Bishop, ordained by him as coadjutor *cum jure successionis*, or ordained by S. John or some other Apostle, or by a Bishop such as Titus, have succeeded in his room, with the same powers to ordain and to govern; let this be supposed, and not only all impossibility but all improbability disappears. And as regards the comparative merits of the two interpretations upon other grounds, as before I opposed to Bishop Lightfoot the authority of Professor Shirley, so I must now confront him with the authority of a divine of a still higher class—I mean Archbishop Trench—who, after thoroughly sifting the different senses put upon the title of the “angels,” to whom S. John was to write, from every point of view, draws the following conclusion:—

“I again repeat my conviction that in these ‘angels’ we are to recognise the Bishops of the several Churches.”¹

So much for the Church of EPHESUS. And if in that Church we have found no single symptom of government by a Presbytery, so neither shall we find one in any of the other Churches of Lesser Asia. That on their first missionary progress, in Pisidia and Pamphylia, Paul and Barnabas, before* they returned

¹ See ‘Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches,’ p. 58. The name ANGELUS, a *messenger*, or *newsbearer*, is closely similar in its original signification to that of APOSTOLUS, and it forms a very suitable intermediate term, or name of transition, between Apostolus and Episcopus.

to Antioch, had ordained elders in every Church, we read in Acts xiv. 23, and we naturally infer with Bishop Lightfoot (p. 191) that Paul did the same, as occasion required, and competent candidates could be found, on his subsequent and more extensive progresses; but *nowhere do we read that he gave them power to superintend each other, or to ordain other Presbyters*. In the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Colossians, no more than in the Epistle to the Ephesians, is there to be discovered the slightest hint to that effect; and further, while on the one hand we find this power exercised by Paul, and then devolved by him upon Timothy, on the other hand we have, in the Apocalypse, six other Churches besides Ephesus each under the charge of its respective "angel," who, to say the very least, is far less likely to represent a distinct Presbytery than an individual Prelate, who had been ordained by S. Paul, or by S. John himself.

And I rejoice to say that in this conclusion again I have Bishop Lightfoot eventually with me far more than I had been led to expect. It is true that at p. 199, summing up the evidence not only of S. Paul, but, in virtue of the very early date assigned to the Apocalypse, of S. John also, he had, as we have already seen, given us to understand that "as late as the year 70 no distinct signs of Episcopal government have hitherto appeared in Gentile Christendom." Nevertheless, ten pages further on (*viz.*, at p. 209), he

writes, speaking of Asia Minor,—“Here we find *the widest and most unequivocal* traces of Episcopacy at an early date.” And again (p. 212),—“The evidence for the *early and wide* extension of Episcopacy *throughout* Proconsular Asia, the scene of S. John’s latest labours, may be considered irrefragable;” while *of Presbytery we have found throughout, and still find, no trace at all.* And is the case really altered in this last respect when, with S. Paul on his second Apostolic journey, we have passed over into Europe? In the years that follow, during which he wrote his Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, is there to be found, either in those Epistles or in S. Luke’s narrative of the Apostles’ Acts, any evidence of *supreme and independent government*, or of *ordination*, by a Presbytery? NONE WHATEVER. On the one hand, we have in the Epistle to the Philippians (i. 1) the terms, still probably more or less indeterminate, of *Episcopi*,¹ *Overseers*, and *Diaconi*, *Ministers*; ² and on the other hand, we have in

¹ Bishop Lightfoot, however, writes: “In the Philippian Church (i. 1) the Deacons take their rank after the Presbyters, *the two orders together constituting the recognised ministry of the Christian society there*” (p. 189). Nevertheless, be it remembered, S. Paul himself was, to all intents and purposes, their Apostolic Bishop; and there is no evidence of an independent Presbytery.

² Compare the 1st Ep. of Clement, cc. 42 and 44, where the same terms are used apparently in the same way. On the date of that Epistle, see below, p. 53. I may mention, as an indication of the indistinctness which still lingered about the terms of the clerical nomenclature even so late as the latter half of the second century,

the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 28) the distinct assertion that "the care of all the Churches came daily upon" the Apostle himself, as their prelati¹cal overseer; an assertion which is confirmed by the way in which his order for the treatment of the incestuous member of the Corinthian Church was given and obeyed.—(See Bishop Lightfoot, p. 196.)

In every case where guides or rulers of the flock are mentioned in the New Testament, there is the same evidence of rulers over them as in Acts xx. 28. In 1 Thess. v. 12, Rom. xii. 8, it is S. Paul who rules; in 1 Peter v. 2, it is S. Peter; in 1 Tim. v. 17, it is Timothy; in Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24, it is the Apostolic writer of that Epistle. But we have no evidence whatever that in any of these instances the ἐπισκοπή, the προορασία, the ἡγεμονία, to be exercised by the Presbyters, consisted in a power to *ordain* or to *rule each other*. And every Bishop at the present

that Pothinus (the predecessor of S. Irenæus) is represented as "having been intrusted with the *Diaconia* of the *Episcopè* at Lyons," in that most interesting document of Christian antiquity which describes the sufferings of the martyrs in Gaul under the persecution of Antoninus Verus (see Euseb. lib. v. c. 1). We have only to speak of the "Diaconate" or "Deaconship of the Episcopate," in order to see at once that it requires some effort of the mind to disabuse ourselves of the false impression which we may receive when, without consideration of circumstances, we interpret too closely the occasional phraseology of the *first*, or even of the *second*, century, by the settled uniform phraseology of the *nineteenth* century.

¹ Professor Blunt, Hist. p. 80 sq., was of opinion that Epaphroditus already bore that office in the Church at Philippi, from Phil. ii. 25.

day, when he institutes a Presbyter to a particular charge, knows what it is to tell him not only to "labour in the word and doctrine," but to guide and "preside" well and zealously; and also to tell the congregation to "know and obey him that is over them in the Lord, and admonishes them, and to esteem him very highly in love for his work's sake."

During the interval of thirty years from the deaths of S. Paul and S. Peter to that of S. John at the end of the century, the dearth of sufficient evidence to enable us to trace with any degree of distinctness the settlement and upgrowth of the European and African Churches is admitted on all hands (Bishop Lightfoot, p. 203 *sq.*); and it is only by the reflected lights of what we find, and what Bishop Lightfoot himself finds, actually in existence *at the close of that period*, combined with the assurance that the *ascended Founder* of the Church was watching over its progress, and that the *descended Comforter* was guiding it so that it might attain the form and order designed for it—it is only thus that we can hope to attain any trustworthy notion of the course pursued. We cannot lay too much stress upon the fact that after their dispersion from Jerusalem, *circ.* A.D. 44, we have no Scriptural record of the acts of *any* of the original Apostles (except that some or all of them were present at the Council, Acts xv., *circ.* A.D. 49), but only of Paul and Barnabas; and that the record to be gleaned from all uninspired sources put together

amounts only to a few very scanty and fragmentary memorials, mostly preserved in Eusebius.

Let us, then, take the words of S. Athanasius in his Epistle to Dracontius, where, speaking of the constitution of the Churches, and more especially of the Episcopate to which Dracontius had been chosen, but from which he shrank through fear of persecution, he reminds him that "matters of that kind had been determined by the Saviour Himself," and that "the model which the Lord fashioned by His Apostles remaineth ever good and firm."¹ Let us, I say, use those words as the key to the problem we have to unlock. Now, whether we look to the Churches of the greater cities, such as ROME or ALEXANDRIA, or of the smaller, such as CORINTH or PHILIPPI, the issue is the same. However slow the progress, and however formidable the impediments in the way of arriving at the ultimate settlement by which the ecclesiastical edifice was to receive its coping-stone in the Gentile Churches, the same settlement was arrived at—and arrived at, we may suppose, through the same means. To take first the two places that

¹ S. Athan., *Op.*, vol. i. p. 264 *sq.* I do not forget that Jerome has a passage which appears to contradict this. See Bishop Lightfoot, p. 228, and compare my 'Outlines,' p. 168 *sq.* On the other hand, we have the words of S. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, c. 3: "The Bishops"—and what Ignatius means by the name is unquestionable—"the Bishops, settled at the utmost bounds [of the earth], are by the will of Jesus Christ;" or, as Bishop Lightfoot renders the words, p. 234, "are in the counsels of Jesus Christ."—See below, p. 57.

I last named—viz. CORINTH and PHILIPPI, which are supposed to present peculiar difficulties. Let it be allowed that when Clement wrote to the former, and Polycarp to the latter, both those Churches were still in an unsettled state, still not fully organised, or at least were unsettled *within*, and required help and guidance from *without*, at that particular time. We cannot tell the precise date of either letter. That of Polycarp appears from internal evidence to have been written within a year or two after the martyrdom of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 116. That of Clement may have been written nearly fifty¹ years—Bishop Lightfoot (pp. 116, 213, 216) would place it about twenty or twenty-five years—earlier. It is certain, however, that the writers of both were Bishops, and made Bishops before the end of the century. Does any one believe that either was ordained by a Presbytery, and not directly or indirectly by one of the Apostles? Tertullian tells us expressly that S. Peter ordained Clement Bishop of Rome; and Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius, tells us no less expressly that S. John ordained Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, one of the seven Apocalyptic Churches.² There must have been some reason in the existing state of things which rendered it fit

¹ Among the scholars who favour the early date, *circ.* 68-70, may be named Grabe, Dodwell, Wake, Pagi, Fleury, Galland, Hefele. Bishop Pearson places it *long before* the death of S. John.

² See Clinton, 'Fasti Romani,' vol. ii. p. 399, and p. 401.

and proper for Clement, as Bishop of Rome (as he probably then was — for he writes, according to Jerome, Cat. 15, “ex personâ Ecclesiae Romanae” — and as he *must have been*, if Tertullian’s statement is correct), to address such a letter to the Corinthian Church, then evidently in great disorder; and for Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to address such a letter to the Philippian Church, then apparently without a Bishop of their own—a reason not consistent with the notion that either of those Apostolic men was taking an obtrusive part,¹ or that *Prelatical superintendence was not already recognised generally throughout the Gentile Churches*. And to this we have to add that a passage of Tertullian (*De Præscript.*, c. 36) records the early existence of such an Episcopate both at Corinth and at Philippi, which he traces directly in both cases *to the Apostles themselves*.² Bishop Lightfoot (p. 213) concludes from Polycarp’s letter “that Episcopacy did not exist at all among the Philippians at this time, or existed only in an elementary form, so that *the Bishop was a mere president of the Presbyteral Council*.” What evidence is there for this latter notion, either in Scripture or in antiquity? None whatever. And when Bishop Lightfoot (at p. 222) speaks of “the

¹ The Philippians had asked Polycarp to write to them; see c. 3.

² See also, for Corinth, the testimony of Hegesippus in Euseb. iv. 22. Bishop Lightfoot (p. 213) scruples at the passage of Tertullian, but (p. 214) fully accepts that of Hegesippus.

mild and peaceful counsels of the *Presbyter Bishop, Clement*," he seems to me to be simply indulging a fancy of his own.

It is easy for any of us, at the present day, to ask, Why was not the appointment of a Bishop at once recommended in those letters to set matters right at Corinth and at Philippi; and why did not Clement, why did not Polycarp, offer to ordain one? And it is no less easy to rejoin—Why did not the Presbytery, whose existence cannot be doubted at either place, if competent to govern by themselves, suffice to keep things in good order, *without Episcopal intervention from another Church*? But, besides that the providence of God could well afford to bide His time in the accomplishment of His own designs, which of us is able to tell, or to conceive, what the acceptance of the Prelatical office would involve in those early days¹—what utter self-abandonment and renunciation of all pre-existing ties and associations, what uncertainty even as to the necessary means of subsistence; and how difficult it would be either to find a person altogether suitable for the office,² or, when found, to induce him to undertake it? Consider what even S. Paul had to undergo *from without* at Philippi, *from within* at Corinth. Any

¹ Even in the last century, and in the annals of our own Scottish Church, we have instances of the strictest secrecy observed in the consecration of Bishops, in consequence of the peril with which the acceptance of the office was attended.

² See 'Outlines,' p. 145.

one who reads the letter of Athanasius, which I just now referred to, will see what formidable obstacles and temptations existed, even so late as the fourth century, to incline even a good man, and one highly qualified for the Episcopate, as Dracontius appears to have been, to endeavour to evade it; and who does not remember the shifts and artifices to which John Chrysostom had recourse in order to escape ordination, as it would appear,¹ even to the priesthood?

But to pass from the Gentile Churches of the smaller cities to those of the larger, such as ROME, and ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH.

It cannot be supposed for a moment that a scholar like Mr Fynes Clinton, of the highest possible character in all respects, thoroughly qualified to expose the weak points of history and chronology, sacred and profane, and a layman, but certainly not of the High Church school,² — it cannot be supposed that such an one would have allowed himself to throw dust in the eyes of his readers in regard to the early Episcopal successions in those cities, any more than in regard to the times and successions of the Athenian archons, or of the Roman consuls and emperors. And what, then, has he taught his readers to believe? He would not suffer them to doubt that a *bonâ fide* Episcopal succession had commenced *in each of those*

¹ See his treatise 'De Sacerdotio.'

² See his remarks, 'Fasti Romani,' vol. ii. p. 521.

cities before A.D. 70.¹ And it is strictly in accordance with that representation that S. Ignatius assures us that when he wrote to the Ephesians, "Bishops [were] established in the farthest parts [of the world]."— 'Shorter Greek Version,' c. 3.²

At this point, as before, in regard to the Episcopate of James at Jerusalem, we are constrained to notice that it is not easy altogether to reconcile with each other the various statements made by Bishop Lightfoot. At one place (p. 193) he tells us: "It is clear that at the close of the Apostolic age, traces of the third and highest order of the threefold ministry, the Episcopate, properly so called, are few and indistinct." And again (p. 196), speaking of the government of the Gentile Churches as repre-

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 535, and 'Outlines,' p. 105. Compare Bishop Lightfoot for Rome, pp. 215-222; for Alexandria, pp. 223-230; for Antioch, p. 208 *sq.*

² See Bishop Lightfoot, p. 234. In regard to the Ignatian Epistles, though unreasonably sceptical in my opinion, yet he writes: "I agree with Lipsius that the Epistles of the short Greek recension *cannot date later than the middle of the second century*; and if so, they will still hold their place among the most important of early Christian documents" (p. 232, note. Comp. p. 210). At p. 208 he had written: "It seems impossible to decide the exact date of the Epistles of S. Ignatius; but we cannot do wrong in placing them *during the earliest years* of the second century." Respecting the Clementine writings, full as they likewise are of Episcopacy, the Bishop states, p. 209: "The Homilies cannot well be placed later than the end, and *should perhaps be placed towards the beginning, of the second century.*" [Since the former edition of these 'Remarks,' Bishop Lightfoot has announced the withdrawal of his scepticism concerning the Ignatian Epistles. See preface to this edition.]

sented in the New Testament, "Episcopacy, in its definite form, still lies beyond the horizon." Yet in p. 199, he writes: "Unless we have recourse to a sweeping condemnation of received documents, it seems vain to deny that *early in the second century the Episcopal office was FIRMLY and WIDELY established. Thus, during the last three decades of the first century, and consequently during the lifetime of the latest surviving Apostle, this change*"—rather, I should say, this divinely purposed consummation—"must have been brought about." Again (p. 232): "It has been seen that the institution of the Episcopate must be placed *as far back as the closing years of the first century,*"¹—yes, and if we include the Episcopate of James at Jerusalem, *fifty or sixty years earlier*—"and that it cannot without violence to historical testimony be dissevered from the name of *S. John*"—nor, I must add, of *S. Peter and S. Paul*, and especially if the Episcopate of S. James is to be taken into account, of *all the Apostles*² and of *our Lord Himself*. Again, at p. 205 we read: "During the historical blank which extends over half a cen-

¹ When we speak of the first century in this discussion, be it remembered that it was not till half that century had elapsed that S. Paul first crossed over into Europe—viz., A.D. 50; and that his life was prolonged only fifteen or sixteen years beyond that time—viz., to A.D. 65 or 66. His missionary labours in Asia Minor had commenced five years earlier—viz., A.D. 45.

² See above, p. 19 sq., and with reference also to the Gentile Churches, the statements of Irenæus, i. 24, iii. 3, iv. 33 ('Outlines,' p. 98 sq.); and Tertullian, 'De Præscript.,' c. xxxii. ('Outlines,' p. 102).

tury after the fall of Jerusalem (70-120), *Episcopacy was matured and the Catholic Church consolidated.*" And once more, at p. 225: "Episcopacy is so inseparably interwoven with all the traditions and beliefs of men, like Irenæus and Tertullian, that they betray no knowledge of a time when it was not."

As one object of these 'Remarks' has been to show that the requirement of subscription to the Presbyterian formula for ordination is not justified by a full and fair interpretation of the New Testament evidence, and that any attempt to support it by the authority of Bishop Lightfoot's Dissertation must be made with imperfect knowledge of the teaching of that Dissertation *taken as a whole*, I need not pursue the investigation further. Whatever apparent difficulties there may be, arising out of isolated passages of some few of the early Fathers, in the way of acceptance of the scheme of the threefold ministry, have been fully noticed in a volume which I published upon the subject some years ago;¹ and to that I must refer the reader. He will there find, I trust, sufficient satisfaction upon all the points raised by Bishop Lightfoot in the subsequent portion of his Dissertation; such as *the occasionally indistinct and comprehensive use of the name "Presbyter"*² by Irenæus

¹ See 'Outlines of the Christian Ministry.' London: Longmans, 1872 [now on sale only at Messrs Grant's, 107 Princes Street, Edinburgh].

² Compare the use of the name "priests" in the Old Testament

(see p. 97), and by Clement of Alexandria (see p. 115 sq.), as in the New Testament by S. Peter and S. John (see pp. 72, 191 sq.), and of ὁ πρεσβυτέρω by Justin Martyr (see p. 162 sq.); *the wild theory of an early but short-lived form of Presbyterian government, first broached towards the end of the fourth century by the learned but inconsistent Jerome (see pp. 164-187), and by the equally inconsistent Hilary, who became a Luciferian schismatic (see pp. 188-190); and originating with them and taken up 500 years later by Eutychius the Alexandrian Patriarch, the very doubtful story of "the curious fact," that at Alexandria, up to the year 318 A.D., a college of twelve Presbyters, appointed by S. Mark, continued to ordain their own Bishop, the Patriarch of that city (see pp. 178, 180, and 197-203). In regard to this last point, I have shown above that so far as the evidence of the New Testament goes, Presbyters had no substantive power to ordain at all;*¹ much less can we believe that they had power given them by S. Mark to ordain their own superior; and the so-called Apostolical Canons, and the Canons of the first Œcumenical Council, A.D. 325 (both of which assume the *three orders* as the invariable basis of the Church's ministry, and *ordination* as the in-

to include high priest and priests. See 'Outlines,' p. 13, note, 157 sq.

¹ On the extraordinary ordination (if it can be so called) of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, see 'Outlines,' p. 215.

separable prerogative of the first order), concur in excluding all likelihood of the notion that any material deviation from the Scriptural and Apostolical constitution of the threefold ministry, inclusive of ordination by the first order only, *had up to that time ever occurred in Christendom*.—(See 'Outlines,' pp. 108, 118-120.) Had there been any such notable exception as is pretended at Alexandria, the second see in the Catholic Church, some notice must have been taken of it by the early writers of ecclesiastical history, or in some Canon of a Provincial or Œcumenical Council: it could not have been left for a mediæval chronicler of the tenth century to be the first¹ to place upon record the facts on which Dean Stanley's statement is founded when he writes, "That even down to the fourth century Presbyters as well as Bishops possessed the power of . . . consecrating Bishops." His article in 'Macmillan' confines this general statement to Alexandria, the single place to which there is even so much as a shadow of ground for applying it. In short, we still abide by the statement of Hooker—"No man is able to show either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters, and his ordination accounted lawful *in any* ancient part of the Church."² And

¹ I say "the first," because the text of Hilary is uncertain, and the passage of Jerome which refers to the peculiar practice at Alexandria, expressly denies to Presbyters the power of ordination.

² See bk. vii. c. vi. sect. 5.

in this we have Bishop Lightfoot with us, so far at least that he writes, p. 231,—“As a general rule¹ even those writers [among the Fathers] who maintain a substantial identity in the offices of Bishop and Presbyter”—(does *any* ancient writer maintain this in *any* place, who does not *elsewhere* contradict himself?)—“reserve the power of ordaining to the former.”

And now to return to the long extract from Dean Stanley's sermon, which I quoted at the beginning, and which has mainly given occasion for these ‘Remarks.’

We there find that “in the celebrated essay attached to his edition of S. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Dr Lightfoot has, with his characteristic moderation and erudition, proved beyond dispute” *five* points more or less at variance with what “used to be the prevailing belief of English divines;” and if we take also into account the Dean's more recent article in ‘Macmillan's Magazine,’ we must add a *sixth* point, for which Bishop Lightfoot is also made sponsor. The six points are as follows:—

1. “That the early constitution of the Apostolic Churches of the first century was not that of a single Pastor, but of a body of Pastors, indifferently styled *Bishops* or *Presbyters*.”

¹ In answer to Bishop Lightfoot's note, p. 230, on the canon of the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, respecting Chorepiscopi, see Bishop of Lincoln's ‘Church History,’ vol. i. p. 46 note, and p. 411 note; also Bingham, vol. i. p. 88.

2. "That it was not till the very end of the Apostolic age that the office which we now call the Episcopate gradually and slowly made its way in the Churches of Asia Minor."

3. "That Presbytery was not a later growth out of Episcopacy, but that Episcopacy was a later growth out of Presbytery."

4. "That the office"—*qy.* constitution—"which the Apostles adopted, was a rule not of Bishops, but of Presbyters."

5. "That, even down to the fourth century, Presbyters as well as Bishops possessed the power of nominating and consecrating Bishops."

6. "That all the Bishops of the second century must have been created by Presbyters of the first century, and this usage continued in Alexandria down to the fourth century."

It is plain, I fear, that my friend the Dean must look at these matters with the eyes of a Presbyter, and that I must look at them with the eyes of a Bishop; for of these six points, *all* of which *he* considers "proved beyond dispute," *not one* is proved to *my* satisfaction, in the way and to the extent in which he states it. Whether or not Bishop Lightfoot himself will consider that they represent upon the whole, with sufficient accuracy, the conclusions intended to be drawn from his essay, it is not, of course, for me to say. He may think that they exhibit the results of his investigation fairly; or he

may think that they do what he deprecated at the outset—"crudely and hastily apply" them (p. 179). For my own part, if I have not already given sufficient reason for withholding my assent from each and all of the aforesaid points—or at least indicated sufficiently where such reason is to be found—I can scarcely expect to improve my cause by continuing to discuss them here at greater length. But in the extract I have quoted, the Dean, still in relation to the same general subject, proceeds to express one or two views of his own, upon which it is desirable that I should also add a few words.

First, then, it appears that the Dean's medium of vision is not only that of the sturdy Presbyter, but of the lordly abbot, of the accomplished antiquary, and even of the learned ex-professor of a great university. "There were," he says, "from *the commencement of the Middle Ages*, even continuing in part to our own times, *large exceptions* from the principle of Episcopal government, which can be called by no other name than Presbyterian. The ABBOTS throughout Europe were for the most part as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of Bishops as if they had lived in the Presbyterian regimen of the first century at Corinth, or the eighteenth in Scotland. Those Abbots, with all their dependants—the GREAT UNIVERSITIES, with all their ecclesiastics,—were all *fragments of Presbyterianism imbedded in the midst of the Episcopate*. In Scotland, as is well known, the Abba-

tial or *Presbyterian* system, although not excluding the institution of Bishops for the sake of *purely ministerial functions*, was predominant from the time of Columba until the introduction of the Anglo-Norman hierarchy by Queen Margaret." Among the Dean's great and various intellectual gifts there is none greater or more dazzling than his power of generalisation; but, as logicians warn us, *Dolus latet in generalibus*. And I know of no writer whose readers have more frequent need to bear this warning in mind. The Dean appears to represent "Abbatial" and "Presbyterian" as synonymous. But how would the Abbot of Westminster like that the tenure of his office should be *only for a year*, or that his Canons and minor officials should claim a *parity* in his rights and privileges? The Abbot was a *real* and *permanent* Principal; and so, of course, are the Principals of Colleges in our great Universities, Scotch as well as English. And then there is the further confusion between clerics *secular* and clerics *regular*—institutions widely different in their scope and design, and of which the latter did not exist in the early Church. I need scarcely say it is no concern of ours to defend the eccentricities of "the Middle Ages," most of which have been long abandoned by us, and those that remain may be at least excused. For example: however some may be inclined to look upon Deans of Westminster as splendid anomalies and manifest relics of a Reformation not *quite* com-

plete ; and however some may suspect that Dean Stanley would not be sorry to see *Episcopacy de cease* in Scotland ; not one of us, I am sure, would wish to see Presbyterianism, *pure and simple*, introduced at Westminster, so long as the Abbots are the creatures of Episcopal ordination, and do not presume *to give what they have not received* ; and I may add, so long as they prove themselves—like the present amiable dignitary—conspicuous examples of an untiring and universal benevolence, equal to that of the very best and most princely of their predecessors in the olden time.

But I have not quite done with the Dean's reference to the "Middle Ages." And here I must turn again to Bishop Lightfoot's essay. Arguing (at p. 228) in favour of a substantial identity of order between Bishops and Presbyters, he writes : "Nor does it appear that this view was ever questioned until the era of the Reformation. In the Western Church, at all events, it carried the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical authorities, and *was maintained even by Popes and Councils.*" No doubt it was, and for the best of reasons, at least in the eyes of Popes themselves ; so that Bishop Lightfoot's "even" appears to me to savour of a simplicity less vigilant and discerning than he usually shows ; and Gieseler, the Church historian, has fallen into the same error.¹ Upon this point I may venture to repeat opinions

¹ See vol. i. p. 88 *sq.*, and p. 106 *sq.*

which I have expressed elsewhere.¹ In tracing the causes which led to Papal supremacy, I had occasion to speak of a development of the threefold ministry which practically destroyed its divine symmetry, and introduced a power utterly inconsistent with the teaching of Scripture, and with the testimony and example of the Church during the Apostolic and post-Apostolic age. And how was this power to be maintained? It was to be maintained partly by denying, partly by undermining, the legitimate authority of the highest order of the threefold ministry—that is, of the Bishops, as each and all equally successors of the Apostles; and then by obtruding the Pope alone into their place. And this was done. Contrary to the prevailing sentiment of the primitive Church, first, the Schoolmen, in the Pope's interest, invented a distinction whereby, though they allowed Bishops to be superior to Presbyters in power and jurisdiction, they made them to be both *of one and the same order*. In this they were followed by the Jesuits; and to the present day, though the Church of Rome reckons altogether seven orders in the ministry—four of them being inferior and only semi-clerical—the *Episcopal order is not one of them*, but is regarded as merged in that of Presbyters, while the Pope sits alone, *extraordinary*, and supreme above them all. Acting upon the new notion of the Schoolmen, and calculating that whatever tended to depress the

¹ See 'Outlines,' pp. 130-133.

Episcopate would elevate themselves, the Popes did not scruple to give dispensations whereby Presbyters were authorised, on occasions, to perform Episcopal acts. And worse than this: not only did they encourage throughout Christendom the institution of rich and powerful monastic bodies, which they set free from Episcopal jurisdiction by making their establishments extra-diocesan; but they took upon themselves to appoint legates or vicars, by whom their own supreme authority was to be represented and enforced in other countries beyond Italy. In this manner, when Episcopacy had been depreciated to serve the interests of the Papacy, and when its rights and position as a distinct order in the Ministry had become obscured and confounded with those of the Presbyterate, the way was prepared for the downward course which followed naturally upon the overthrow of the Papal usurpation,—a downward course which, in this and other Protestant countries, has been going on from the time of the Reformation to the present day.

Hence it is that our most learned divines who have written upon this subject have not failed to point out that the true original of Presbytery is to be traced directly, not to Scripture but to Popery.

Thus Bishop Jeremy Taylor: "I shall say one thing more, which is indeed a great truth, that the diminution of Episcopacy was first introduced by Popery, and the Popes of Rome, by communicating

to abbots and other mere priests special graces to exercise some essential offices of Episcopacy, have made this sacred order cheap and *apt to be invaded*" —(Works, vol. vi. p. 809).

And thus Archbishop Bramhall: "Though the Popes do not abolish the order of Bishops, or Episcopacy, in the abstract, yet they limit the power of Bishops, in the concrete, at their pleasure, by exemptions and reservations" —(Works, vol. i. p. 252).

And thus Bishop Pearson: "Nothing is more certain than that all diminution of the rights of Episcopacy had its source in the Papal usurpation" —(Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 274).

And thus Charles Leslie: "Whosoever would write the true history of Presbyterianism must begin at Rome, and not at Geneva" —(Works, vol. vii. p. 127).

And with regard to the pretended distinction between *order* and *degree*, whereby the Schoolmen endeavoured to prove that though there were *three degrees* in the ministry, there were only *two orders*, Bishop Andrews has shown that this distinction has no foundation in Scripture or in the Fathers.¹ And the same is more fully demonstrated by Bingham,² although he mentions that some of our earlier

¹ See 'Op. Posth.,' p. 183, and comp. Bishop Pearson, 'Vind. Ign.,' p. 279.

² See bk. ii. c. 1, § 1; c. 19, § 15; and 'French Church's Apol.,' bk. iv. c. 5, § 3.

divines, *e.g.*, Mason and Ussher—he might have added Hooker—had in their controversial treatises been content to fall in with the terminology received from the Schoolmen.

How far our Presbyterian friends at Glasgow may have been pleased with Dean Stanley for connecting their system not only with the first century but with “the Middle Ages,” I cannot, of course, pretend to say; but when their champion proceeded in the same passage to remind them that this same system, “because primitive, was rude, undeveloped, and incomplete,” and consequently that a return to it on their parts was neither more nor less than an anachronism—a mistake—they must have looked, I should imagine, somewhat askance; and still more when he virtually gave them to understand that Presbyterianism, though *not good enough for others, might suffice for them*; and that it had its value, if not in itself, for “it was liable to great abuses and excesses,” yet, “in the standing protest which it presented, and the kind of equipoise which it furnished against the prevailing and preponderating systems of other countries.” In justification of this peculiar view, so little complimentary to his Scottish hearers, he suggests to them the reflection that some examples of aristocratic or republican governments are useful in the world, as “serving at once to remind the proudest and most beneficent sovereigns that they are not absolutely indispensable, and that *some part*

at least of their duties can be performed by *inferior and less perfectly developed* constitutions." And so here we have at last the Dean giving in his adhesion, indirectly at least, to the common judgment of Anglican divines, that Presbyterianism is "an inferior and less perfectly constituted" form of Church administration.¹ And with regard to the "protest," spoken of above, and supposed to be directed in part "against the opinion that Episcopacy is the only channel by which Christianity can be communicated to mankind," I confess I know of little or no occasion for it. My own conviction, as expressed in 'Outlines,' pref. p. ix, and p. 104, is utterly averse to any such opinion. And yet I should be very unwilling to countenance the inference, which the Dean's illustration is calculated to suggest—viz., that nothing more is to be said in favour of the expediency and the duty of maintaining *one and the same form* of ministry and government in the Church instituted by Christ Himself, than in States, which, as S. Peter teaches, "are the creation of man."² What man has created, man may change at his own discretion: but it is only God who can change what He Himself has ordained.

I cannot part with the good Abbot of Westminster

¹ See Archbishop Tenison, quoted by Dean Stanley in his 'Four Lectures,' p. 58.

² See 1 Pet. ii. 13, and comp. Bishop Andrewes's 'Devotions,' First Day, Intercession; and Bishop Sanderson, vol. ii. p. 97 sq. On the common fallacy referred to in the text, see 'Outlines,' p. 18.

without expressing some feeling of regret that, notwithstanding his zeal for the truth whole and entire, he did not think it necessary to refer to the *absence of Confirmation*,¹ or of the *non-observance of the great Festivals of the Church*, in the Presbyterian system. Neither did he bring to the knowledge of his Presbyterian hearers what "the most learned of all the living Bishops of England" has said in regard to one portion—a portion so important that it has given its name to the whole—of that system which every ordained minister solemnly asserts "to be founded upon the Word of God and agreeable thereto," and no less solemnly promises to "submit to, concur with, &c., and to the utmost of his power to maintain, support, and defend during all the days of his life;" and every ordained lay elder likewise promises "to submit thereto, to concur with, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof." Bishop Lightfoot's words (p. 193,

¹ "Concerning Confirmation—seeing Episcopacy is condemned, imposition of hands by Bishops falleth to the ground." Such was the *curt*, and, it must be added, *profane* resolution of the famous General Assembly, held at Glasgow 1638. Preaching in the same city, Dean Stanley would have done well to rebuke the act which has ever since deprived, and still deprives, the Presbyterian youth of both sexes of the benefits of that Apostolic ordinance. Nevertheless, Confirmation has *not* "fallen to the ground," and never will so long as the Church militant and the world endure. The distinct testimonies from two such opposite quarters as S. Cyprian and S. Jerome, in their interpretation of Acts viii. 14-17, and the confessions even of Presbyterian commentators, such as Delitzsch, on Heb. vi. 1, 2, are well known. See 'Outlines,' pp. 227-229.

note) are these: "The distinction of lay or *ruling elders*, and ministers proper, or *teaching elders*, was laid down by Calvin, and has been adopted as the constitution of several Presbyterian Churches. This interpretation of S. Paul's language is *refuted* by Rothe, p. 224, Ritschl, p. 252 *sq.*, and Schaff. 'Hist. of Apost. Ch.,' vol. ii. p. 312, besides older writers, such as Vitringa and Mosheim." He might have added that it has been refuted also by the late Principal of the University of Aberdeen, the learned Dr P. C. Campbell, in his treatise on 'The Ruling Eldership,' where, though a Presbyterian himself, he shows that the office is *not* "founded on the Word of God," nor "agreeable thereto."

The position occupied by Principal Tulloch towards the subject we have been discussing is, on the whole, very different from that of Dean Stanley. Wishing always to be loyal to the true interests of the Established Church of Scotland, of which he is such a distinguished ornament, nevertheless, in the interests of historical truth, he has not scrupled to give testimony from time to time which could not fail to be unacceptable to many of his less enlightened brethren. It is not for me to say whether, with the convictions he holds, and the opportunities he has enjoyed, he might not have done more to satisfy the responsibilities which devolve upon him from both: I must be content to inform the reader what he has actually done.

1. In his admirable sketch of John Knox, first published in 1859, he expressed his estimate of our Scottish Reformation as "sturdy indeed and uncompromising in its faith, and free in its instincts, but with no sacred inheritance of traditionary story binding it by beautiful links to the great catholic past; and further, as has been long too sadly apparent, with no sympathetic expansiveness for moulding into religious unity classes widely separated in material rank and in intellectual and artistic culture"—(Leaders of the Reformation, p. 264).

And again, he admits that developed—or, to use his own more forcible expression, "hardened"—as it soon became "into a Calvinistic creed and Presbyterian ritual," it was not destined "to penetrate the old historical families of the kingdom," and consequently it has failed "to mould the nation—people, barons, and nobles—into a religious unity"—(ibid. p. 319).

2. In a lecture delivered in Edinburgh and at S. Andrews in 1865, while claiming the authority both of Hooker and Leighton for the principle of *indifferentism* upon the question of the Church's ministry to an extent which appeared to me at the time quite irreconcilable with what we know of their teaching taken as a whole, he nevertheless had the fairness to avow, "as simply matter of history which no candid inquirer could deny," that "Episcopacy, as an order distinct from Presbyters, has continued in the Church since the latter age of S. John" (p. 19).

3. In an article published in 'Macmillan's Magazine,' January 1872, he went further, and confessed that "there are few wise Presbyterians who do not see weaknesses in their own system arising from the disuse of Episcopacy" (p. 236).

4. In the sermon spoken of above as having been preached this year at the opening of the General Assembly, I gladly recognise as much forbearance, and perhaps I ought to add as much impartiality, as was to be expected on such an occasion. We discover indeed the working of the old leaven of theoretical *indifferentism* at p. 8, where we read, "There may be, and we believe there are, ecclesiastical policies which are *better* than others, *nearer*¹ to the New Testament ideal than others." But elsewhere (p. 17) we are told that "the true Church is historical in doctrine and ritual. No Church can, without injury, separate itself from the past—the inherited belief and traditions of Christendom." It is well that none of his hearers was able, probably, to remember how the preacher himself had formerly declared that the Scottish Reformation had actually done this for the Church whose "General Assembly" he was then addressing (see above, p. 65).

All this is no more than was to be expected from

¹ May not these comparatives be meant to point at Popery rather than Episcopacy? or if at Reformed Episcopacy, at overgrown dioceses, like those of England, which was John Knox's objection to Episcopacy as he had there witnessed it? (See Works, vol. v. p. 515.) And then all will be consistent.

a divine of Principal Tulloch's highly intellectual and philosophical cast of mind. Nothing could be more alien from his nature than to join the extreme Presbyterians of a former age in denouncing Episcopacy as Popish and anti-Christian; and no Prelatist, however rank, could have encountered more determined opposition than he would have met with even in the Westminster Assembly, which, having first taken a solemn pledge to do their utmost to extirpate Prelacy, proceeded to examine the Word of God, and there found that a ministerial platform of coequal clerical pastors, of semi-lay ruling elders and lay deacons, is *alone of Divine appointment, and, as such, of perpetual obligation!*¹ At the same time, if he entertains, as is only too probable, quite as little sympathy with my own endeavours as tending too much into the opposite extreme, this is what I am quite prepared for; nay, more,—so much are we all the creatures of circumstances—witness John Henry Newman and my old friend and schoolfellow Henry Edward Manning, now Cardinals of the Church of Rome—that there is, I will confess, reason to fear that I might myself have been led to think and to feel the same, had I been in the same position. But this, of course, does not release me from the obligation of stating and maintaining the truth as, placed where I am by the good providence of God, I seem to see it. On the contrary, reduced in numbers as a Church, simply

¹ See 'Outlines,' pp. 78 and 135.

and entirely through political considerations, or, to speak more plainly, through the mistaken loyalty which during a whole century (1688-1788) stood out *for* the exiled Stuart family, though Roman Catholics, and *against* the settlement of the Crown accepted in Scotland as in England, though the political union of the two countries had taken place in 1707—reduced, through these circumstances, to a minority which now does not exceed three per cent of the population, it is only the more incumbent upon us not to suffer the still small voice of the truth, as we have received it, to be drowned in the discordant clamour of the overwhelming multitudes who gainsay, or stifled by the oppressive silence of the miscellaneous crowd still more numerous, of those who are indifferent.

And now to return once more to Bishop Lightfoot's essay before I conclude.

I assume that the object which Bishop Lightfoot had in view in writing that elaborate, and, to borrow Dean Stanley's term, "exhaustive" Dissertation, was not merely a theoretical but a practical one; and that the practical object which he proposed to himself was not simply the same which Dean Stanley contemplated in quoting it, and which we must suppose to have been a desire to befriend the cause of Presbyterianism, or of indifferentism, or both; but rather his object was to make the Anglican position as strong as the truth allows, by taking out of the way all supports which in his opinion cannot be depended on as thoroughly

trusty, firm, and substantial. Manifestly he did not favour the line of thought acquiesced in by many at the present day, that the matter is comparatively unimportant, or he would not have devoted so much time and study to its careful consideration. Rather, we must conclude, that he regarded it, in its way, as involving consequences no less worthy of his serious and patient attention than those which are involved in the problems raised by the author of 'Supernatural Religion.' Moreover, on the one hand, he has nothing to say in behalf of the Congregationalist theory; for he sees elements at work from the first which clearly imply corporate association and corporate action; and on the other hand, though he discards "an exclusive sacerdotalism as contradicting the general tenor of the Gospel" (p. 243 and note), he recognises for all ministerial purposes a plain distinction between clergy and laity (pp. 180, 244, 265 *sq.*) The main defect, as it appears to me, in his treatment of the subject, is that which I have before ventured to point out,—viz., the adoption of a mistaken principle of *evolution*¹—of the evolution first of the priesthood of the ministry

¹ A severe critic of the Dissertation, in the 'New York Churchman,' May 1878, speaks of it as "serving in the interests of Darwin, Huxley, and Mill. Of the two parallel courses of reasoning—namely, Darwin's and Lightfoot's—the first relating to the natural, and the second to the spiritual creation, we must confess that Darwin's is the more satisfactory and conclusive. He makes fewer baseless assumptions. There are not so many missing links. He is a closer reasoner. It must not be supposed that we admit the soundness of Darwin's logic. We simply assert that it is much safer than Dr Lightfoot's."

out of the priesthood of the people (p. 256), and next of the order of the Episcopate out of the order of the priesthood (p. 194)—and the substitution of that principle, founded upon merely human considerations, for the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, to which, nevertheless, in the end he is content, more or less directly, to have recourse. To say that “the Episcopate was evolved out of the Presbyterate, and not the Presbyterate out of the Episcopate,” betrays to my mind a misconception of the essential principle which lies at the root of the whole question. Of course, as a rule, men were made Presbyters before they were made Bishops, as they were also made Deacons before they became Presbyters; otherwise there would be no propriety in S. Paul’s use of the word *βαθμὸς*, *degree*, in 1 Tim. iii. 13. But what our divines have hitherto maintained is, that both were *evolved* out of the Apostolate, as the Apostolate was *evolved*, if I may so speak, out of the person of the Divine Founder of the Church. This is what our Church means when, in the passage quoted above, it asserts that “it is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church — Bishops, Priests, and Deacons;” which words are to be understood not merely as stating an historical fact, but as indicating the root out of which the ministry of the Church originally sprang. This, too, is what Hooker means

when he writes: "It clearly appeareth by Holy Scripture that Churches Apostolic did know but three degrees in the power of ecclesiastical order; *at the first*, Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons; *afterwards*, instead of Apostles, Bishops" (Book v. ch. lxxviii. 9). And again: "I may securely conclude that there are at this day in the Church of England no other than the same degrees of ecclesiastical order—viz., Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which *had their beginning from Christ and His blessed Apostles themselves*" (ibid. 12).

It will not, I hope, be too much to ask of Bishop Lightfoot that he would endeavour to realise to himself our position in this country—a position in all essential respects identical with his own, though in worldly circumstances so widely different. As Christians we have a plain command in the New Testament to "submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." The Presbyterian Church Establishment is undoubtedly such an ordinance. Why, then, do we not submit to it? Simply because we have another Scriptural command no less plain, and more directly concerning our duty to God Himself—to avoid divisions, to cherish unity. And God, as we believe, has not only given us this command, but has also put into our hands a twofold instrument whereby we may all be enabled to keep it—viz., *the instrument of the Catholic ministry and the Catholic creeds of the undivided Church*. Bishop Lightfoot has himself very forcibly pointed out how the testi-

mony of S. Ignatius in behalf of the threefold ministry has reference mainly to the *unity* of organisation,¹ and the testimony of Irenæus to the *unity* of the faith.² It is not, therefore, with us a question of "unchurching," as it is called, non-Episcopalians; neither is it a question whether one form of ministry and Church government may not be as good as another; but the question is, *how we may best obey God's command of unity*, with a view to the welfare and extension of Christ's Church: whether, *through His own instruments*, as we regard them—and as Bishop Lightfoot himself, apparently, is at least inclined to regard them—or *through the self-chosen instruments of man*. Can we doubt that the providence of God and of Christ watched over the formation of the canon of Scripture, the upgrowth of the observance of the Lord's Day, of Infant Baptism, of Episcopal Confirmation (upon which Bishop Lightfoot, like Dean Stanley, is altogether silent, notwithstanding the remarkable testimony of Jerome³), and the authoritative

¹ Thus, at p. 233 *sq.*, he writes,—“S. Ignatius values the Episcopate chiefly as a security for good discipline and harmonious action in the Church.”

² See p. 238 *sq.*, where he writes that, according to Irenæus, “the Bishop is the depositary of primitive truth—of apostolic tradition.” And he adds: “This view is not peculiar to Irenæus. It seems to have been advanced *earlier* by Hegesippus,” and *later*, “it is distinctly maintained by Tertullian.”

³ “Etiamsi Scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, *totius Orbis* in hunc partem *consensus* instar præcepti obtineret,”—‘Adv. Lucif.’ c. 9. See also Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii. ad Tubaianum, c. 9, before referred to.

promulgation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity? And are we not to believe that the same providence¹ was equally engaged in bringing about in regard to the ministry of the Church a result equally authoritative, equally universal? And if it is objected that the same argument would be available to cover the development of Popery, I answer—No; because *those were all conclusions of undivided Christendom*; whereas *undivided Christendom never gave its sanction to Papal supremacy*: on the contrary, the Eastern section of it, no less than the Reformed Churches of the West, has never ceased to protest against it.

Dr Lightfoot grants, or rather, I ought to say claims, "Apostolic direction"—nay, more, he virtually claims "a Divine appointment or at least a Divine sanction" for the threefold ministry. He calls it "a divinely appointed order" (p. 265). Will he claim, will he grant the same to any other? Will he admit that Presbyterianism is "founded upon the Word of God, and agreeable thereto"? He has declared the contrary in reference to the *ruling elder* portion of that system (p. 193). What will he say of the *teaching elder* portion? In the preface to my work before referred to, I have noticed the above

¹ At p. 232, Bishop Lightfoot acknowledges that what he considers "the development of the Episcopal office was a *providential* safeguard amid the confusion of speculative opinion, the distracting effects of persecution, and the growing anarchy of social life." But then, at p. 243, he regards the concentration of authority wielded by the Popes during the middle ages as similarly "*providential*."

conclusions of Bishop Lightfoot as "amply sufficient and satisfactory." I have also stated my agreement with him, "that the facts do not *allow*"—certainly do not *require*—"us to unchurch other Christian communities differently organised." But is anything really gained by these concessions, when I have to add, as I did (p. xiv), that "the coexistence of different organisations, equally claiming to be 'Churches,' *in the same place*, has not come up in the course of the professor's investigation, and appears to rest upon no sufficient human, as it certainly rests upon no Divine, authority;" and further, that "not a single well-authenticated instance of merely Presbyterian ordination is to be found in the records of the ancient Church"? It is idle to complain of the want of Christian unity so long as we forbear to point out—to maintain for ourselves and to urge upon others—the use of those instruments which God's Word and providence have combined to recommend, in order that we might enjoy that inestimable benefit. Are we to tell God that other means will do as well as those which He has *probably* sanctioned? I insert the word "probably," because I am putting Bishop Lightfoot's own conclusion, and I am anxious not to overstate it in the least degree. Or are we to make God the author of confusion and not of order in His Church? It appears to me that, acknowledging, as we do, not only the plainness and the stringency of the command of unity, but also its

practical importance for the wellbeing and extension of the Church, a grave responsibility rests on all who, while by their teaching and practice they obscure the path which, according to the plain statement of our Church, Scriptural and Apostolic guidance has pointed out, so that "the wayfaring men though fools might not err therein," *make no attempt to secure the Divine requirement of unity in some other way.* And this responsibility becomes the more urgent in proportion as the guidance of the civil power, to which many, especially of the poorer and less educated classes have been wont to look, is being gradually withdrawn, and *we are more and more closely threatened with the levelling process of Disestablishment*—and, I may add, are more and more liable to be assailed by the policy, at once seductive and aggressive, of the Church of Rome. All honour is due to the strict and impartial investigation of truth, to whatever issues it may lead; and no opposition that is raised to the blind spirit of a narrow and uncharitable partisanship upon either side can be too decided or too strong. But while we sorrowfully confess that far too much of this spirit has been seen in the past, and still is to be seen amongst us, let us not fail to reflect that in setting ourselves to correct it—which will be the endeavour of every well-constituted mind—there may be some danger of forgetting that the interests at stake are not our own, or the property of our own generation merely, but

of all who are to come after us to the end of time.

It would be no slight evil to the Church of England and to ourselves if the name of the present occupant of the great See of Durham, whom we all respect and esteem, should ever become lastingly abused as that of the learned Bishop of Worcester in a former age has been and still is. I allude to Edward Stillingfleet, who in the last year of the Commonwealth, 1659, at a moment when Church and State were in the lowest depths of disorganisation, just after he had been ordained, published his 'Irenicum, a Weapon Salve for the Church's wounds: humbly tendered to consideration,'—a work of remarkable learning and ability for so young an author, and written with the best intentions, but with the hasty zeal and immaturity of judgment incident to youth, and consequently not such as the author himself in later life could altogether approve—as he showed by the way in which he spoke of it both before and after he was made a Bishop. *The disapproval, however, has been disregarded, forgotten, or unknown*; and the work, which was designed to disclaim a Divine sanction for any particular form of Church government, has been quoted again and again ¹

¹ To produce one or two specimens: (1.) In Principal Hill's Theological Institutes, a work of high authority among Presbyterians, first published in 1803, and still used, I believe, very generally as a text-book throughout Scotland, we read, p. 131: "The New Testament does not prescribe any one particular form of Church govern-

simply as giving the authority of a Bishop and great divine—the most learned divine of the time in which

ment in such a manner as to render another form unlawful. This principle was first explained by Hooker in the third book of his 'Ecclesiastical Polity'—"I have elsewhere fully shown what is to be said of this statement in regard to Hooker—"and was afterwards demonstrated by the learned and profound BISHOP STILLINGFLEET, in the treatise which he entitled 'Irenicum.'"

(2.) In the recently published work on 'The English Church in the Eighteenth Century,' by the Rev. Messrs Abbey and Overton, we are informed that "Wesley had learned from BISHOP STILLINGFLEET's 'Irenicum' to be heartily ashamed of the opinion he once held that the Episcopal form of Church government is prescribed in Scripture"—vol. ii. p. 68; see also p. 83, where the same statement is repeated without any indication to the reader of the real facts of the case. And again, in vol. i. pp. 274, 388, Stillingfleet is spoken of as "another illustrious name of the latitudinarian side" upon the question of Church government; simply out of regard to this youthful performance.

And now for Stillingfleet's own more mature judgment, pronounced both before and after he became a Bishop, in reference to the same work.

(1.) In the Dedication to an Ordination Sermon, 1685: "I do not deny that I do now think much more is to be said for the 'Apostolical institution of Episcopacy' than I at that time"—when he wrote the 'Irenicum'—"apprehended, as will fully appear in the following Sermon." And then he goes on to explain the time and circumstances in which the treatise was written, as sufficient to account for "the errors and mistakes in it"; and mentions especially "the scepticalness and injudiciousness of youth" (Works, vol. i. p. 358). See also 'Conferences concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome,' 1686, vol. vi. p. 49, where in the person of P. D. he speaks of his own book, and says: "I believe there are many things in it which, if Dr Stillingfleet were to write now, he would not have said; for there are some which show his youth and want of due consideration; others which he yielded too far in hopes of gaining Dissenting parties to the Church of England," &c. Again, in the Preface to his 'Unreasonableness of Separation,' 1681, vol. ii. p. 461 *sq.*, he had said that it was written

he lived¹—to the disparagement of Episcopacy, or, in other words, of the view that the threefold ministry is of Divine or Scriptural obligation. If what I have written shall have any effect in preventing such a result in Bishop Lightfoot's case, so that the name of our new Bishop of Durham may not go down to posterity as sponsor for the opinions which Dean Stanley has ascribed to him, I shall be satisfied that the time and pains spent upon the composition of these 'Remarks' have not been ill bestowed.

"twenty years since, with great tenderness towards the Dissenters, before the laws were established," and that he had since "seen reason to alter his judgment."

(2.) In his "Primary Charge" as Bishop, 1690, vol. iii. p. 621 *sq.*, where he distinctly *argues in favour of Episcopacy as of Divine appointment, and repudiates the notion that any other form of Church government could substantiate such a claim*, he maintains that "Bishops are successors of the Apostles;" and he can "see no *medium* but that either the primitive Bishops did succeed the Apostles by *their own appointment and approbation*—which Irenæus expressly affirms—or else those who governed the Apostolical Churches outwent Diotrephes himself," &c., &c. The true story of the 'Irenicum' is fully told in Hickes's 'Treatises,' vol. i. p. 239 *sq.* See also Orme's 'Life of Baxter,' p. 628.

¹ Bentley, who had been his chaplain, described him as "the glory of our Church and nation, who by his vast and comprehensive genius is as great in all parts of learning as the greatest next himself are in any" (Preface to 'Dissert. on Phalaris,' Works, vol. i. p. 4). Compliments scarcely less than this have been paid to Dr Lightfoot, and I heartily wish that he may be able to make good his claim to them in the same way as Bishop Stillingfleet did.

PROSPECTS OF RECONCILIATION

BETWEEN

PRESBYTERY AND EPISCOPACY

A CHARGE

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL SYNOD OF THE UNITED DIOCESE
OF S. ANDREWS, DUNKELD, AND DUNBLANE,
SEPTEMBER 19, 1882

BY

CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.C.L.
BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE

PROSPECTS OF RECONCILIATION

BETWEEN

PRESBYTERY AND EPISCOPACY.

THE annual Synod of the United Diocese of S. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane was held in Perth on Tuesday, September 19th—Bishop Wordsworth presiding. The preliminary matters of business having been gone through, the Bishop delivered his Charge, in which, having first noticed the main events which had occurred in the administration of the diocese during the past year, he proceeded to speak upon topics of more general interest, as follows :—

ADDRESS OF DR MILLIGAN, AS MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Remembering that there have been times on which I have felt it necessary to complain of the want of a just and charitable recognition of our position and claims on the part of our brethren of the Established

Church, and that not least in the proceedings of their General Assembly, I hasten to acknowledge that a kinder, fairer, and more conciliatory spirit appeared to prevail—though still not altogether without exception—in the Assembly for the present year. More especially, I am sure, we must all have read with unfeigned satisfaction the closing address of the Moderator, Dr Milligan. It may be said, I believe with truth, that a nobler or more memorable manifesto, if I may so call it, has never proceeded from the occupant of that chair. I can remember other Moderators' addresses, each memorable in its way—such as that of Dr Bisset in 1862, and that of Dr Pirie in 1864, both emanating from the same northern quarter—which might seem to indicate that in Aberdeen, at least, the spirit still survives of the olden time, when Episcopacy and Presbytery were not only fain to look each other fairly in the face, but loath to think that the discord which had unhappily broken out between them, must needs be hopelessly and endlessly perpetuated. For my own part, as I had not forgotten how Professor Milligan had spoken ten years before—viz., in May 1872—when he went as the principal member of a delegation from the Church of Scotland to the General Assembly of their Presbyterian brethren in the United States of America, then met at Detroit—not having forgotten, I say, the more than kindly tone in which he then spoke of the efforts which had already been made for some years

previous on our part to advocate the cause of unity, I was not unprepared for those enlightened, and, what is more, those brotherly, Christian sentiments, to which, as Moderator, he gave such weighty expression, especially towards the close of his address. In his speech at Detroit—according to the authorised report, published in the American General Assembly's Journal—having referred to schemes in this country for the reunion of Presbyterians among themselves, he went on to say :—

“Nor would it be right in me altogether to pass over the fact that there are many in the Church of Scotland who look onward to a still more comprehensive union—to one embracing not only the three large Presbyterian Churches, but the Episcopal community of Scotland too. Strange to say, this last phase of the movement has originated in the Episcopal Church itself, where”—I omit the complimentary terms with which the speaker was so good as to introduce my name—“the Bishop of St Andrews has through a long series of years taken every opportunity of advocating the scheme. That there are difficulties in the way of this, it is impossible not to see; but it may be doubted if, great as they are, they are greater than the difficulties that beset the path of those who are striving to accomplish the smaller unions. I am not sure that they are not less, and that the prospect of gathering again together the powerful landlords—who are for the most part

Episcopal — into one flock with their dependants, together with the many lettered and cultivated among the inhabitants of our towns, who have of late years been feeling the attractions of the Episcopal constitution and service, would not awaken an even larger amount of sympathy and enthusiasm in its favour than that of uniting Presbyterians alone. What may come of any of these movements after union it is impossible to say; but this much, at least, is obvious, that the spirit at the bottom of them is the spirit of God; and that they can hardly fail to foster that love which, more than all other gifts, is the very bond of perfectness.”

Remarkable words! which, in the report of that address, as reprinted in this country by the principal organ of the Established Church, were, I am sorry to have to say, all suppressed,—not, I have reason to believe, with the speaker’s goodwill, but probably because they were thought at that time to be going further than was quite agreeable to certain influential persons among our Presbyterian friends at home. Be this, however, as it may, it is interesting to compare that passage with the words which the same speaker has now uttered in a way which it is impossible to conceal,—delivered as they were with all the publicity which our own Scottish General Assembly could give to them, and with all the authority which they could derive from its moderatorial chair, and subsequently published, as they have been, by the Moderator himself, in deference to special re-

quest. As if taking up the thread of his discourse at Detroit ten years ago, and again speaking of the unity which we have need of in this country, and which is so earnestly sought and prayed for by many, he proceeded thus: "The body most difficult to deal with would in all probability be the Episcopal Church. It is vain to say," as, no doubt, some had said in 1872, "Let that matter alone. Upon what principle can you let it alone? When Christian union is spoken of, the starting-point must be Christian; and starting from that point, we are not entitled to omit any body of Christians until it is distinctly shown that the difficulties of conciliating it are insuperable. They may be so here, but it has not been shown that they are so. On the contrary, there is much to draw us to the Episcopal Church of Scotland,—far more, I would fain say, did I not know how delicate is the ground upon which I am treading, than to the Church of England." (Let me here interpose the remark that unity with us *must* and *would* in all ordinary course involve unity with the Church of England, and that any attempt to bring about unity with the Church of England except through us—though a notion, I believe, entertained by some—would be found, I am persuaded, a mere idle dream.) "The earliest and best of our reformers," the Moderator added, "had no objections to much that the Episcopal Church retains in doctrine, worship, and government; while, on the other hand, Scottish Episcopacy, especially in its ear-

lier times, retained many Presbyterian elements. If in later times a spirit of mutual animosity prevailed, it was in no small degree because of temporary causes of alienation which might pass—which have in great measure passed—away. These causes were, indeed, more political than religious, and they were deepened by that folly and sin on both sides which all parties now equally bewail.”

Again I say “remarkable words,” for which God be praised! But Aberdeen is not the only centre of light and learning from which, as we might expect, such sentiments have proceeded. I rejoice that S. Andrews has come forward *pari passu* in the same course. The views of the Moderator had been anticipated some days before in the same Assembly by the Principal of S. Mary’s College in proposing a resolution on the subject of Disestablishment. After stating that the attitude of the General Assembly and of the National Church had for many years been one of brotherly feeling towards all Christian communions in Scotland, and especially towards the Presbyterian Churches which had sprung from it, Dr Tulloch made use of these words: “I may say for myself that I extend that sympathy and brotherly interest beyond the pale of Presbyterianism. I am not one of those who have been jealous of the Christian influence of our Episcopal brethren, and of the much good work among the influential classes that the Episcopal Church is doing in Scotland. Nay, I am one of those who

recognise that Episcopacy has a certain historic root in Scotland," and therefore is not a mere exotic, as has been sometimes said of us. "I am perfectly certain," he continued, "that the Church of Scotland has no warmer friends than many who adorn the Episcopal Church of this country; and it would little become us to look with coldness upon the great work they are doing, or to refuse them brotherly sympathy in their work." And these sentiments were received, we are told in the newspaper reports, with repeated "applause." Nor is this all. Our other distinguished Principal (*viz.* of the United College), at S. Andrews, in two temperate and impartial articles which have appeared still more recently in a magazine ('*Fraser's*' for June and July), has given another healthy and encouraging sign of the same spirit; while our first parish minister, through his many various and deservedly popular works of entertainment and instruction, has been long known as one who declines to look upon the existing condition of Presbyterianism in this country as incapable of improvement—perhaps I should rather say of development—or as sufficient to satisfy the advancing tastes and aspirations of a large proportion of his fellow-countrymen, both rich and poor.

It may be asked what good purpose I propose to myself in speaking to you of these things, or what is the practical value of remarks such as I have now brought before you. I answer, they are of use,

if on no other account, yet at least because, circulated, as they are likely to be, through the indulgence of the newspaper press to these our synodical anniversaries, they serve to bring before the minds of the people of this country an important truth, which, being presented to them again and again, and from divers quarters, may, in God's good time, produce the desired fruit. They testify that we, clergy and ministers of the Gospel, whether Presbyterian or Episcopalian—we, who have to watch for the good of souls—are not content that the condition of disunion in which we find ourselves, most unwillingly and most unhappily, should be allowed to continue without remonstrance; that, as guardians and expounders of God's Word, we cannot consistently acquiesce in the flagrant disobedience thus shown to one of the most frequent and most emphatic precepts of that Word—viz., to shun divisions—any more than we can acquiesce in the most palpable violations of God's moral laws; in short, that we look upon our present state of aggravated schism as being, what indeed it is, a scandal and disgrace to our common Christianity. At the same time, it is, no doubt, very undesirable that we should accustom ourselves to rest in mere generalities upon the matter, without attempting to come to closer quarters with the difficulties of the problem which we have to solve. I should be sorry indeed to think that the effect of this year's moderatorial address is destined

to pass away unimproved, as that of Dr Bisset's passed away, and that of Dr Pirie's passed away, and that of the former address of Dr Milligan himself, so far as we in this country are concerned, has apparently passed away. And from this point of view I cannot avoid remarking that the arrangement by which, under the present Presbyterian system, the Moderator of the General Assembly discharges only for ten days the duties of the office which then virtually becomes defunct, until it is revived the next year under the same conditions—this arrangement cannot but constitute a grave impediment in the way of carrying out improvements which each Moderator in turn may desire to effect. In former days, the disadvantage was not allowed to exist to the same extent. When great measures were to be passed, and great changes accomplished, it was not unusual for the same Moderator, after a longer or shorter interval, to be re-elected. For example, Andrew Melville held the office three times—viz., in 1578, 1581, and 1582. So did Alexander Henderson—viz., in 1638, 1641, and 1644. So did William Carstares—in 1705, 1708, and 1711; and other cases might be named in which re-election was still more frequent; as that of Robert Douglas, who was Moderator five times between 1642 and 1651. It would seem to be a just cause for regret that, when necessity has arisen from more than one quarter for reconsidering, calmly and dispassionately, certain aspects in the

history of the past, a practice so reasonable has been suffered to die out; and whether or not it be now capable of revival, it is not of course for us to judge. But in the meantime we may be allowed at least to entertain a hope that those who have committed themselves to the expression of sentiments which indicate broader sympathies and a desire for closer and more brotherly relations than those in which we are now living, will not suffer themselves to rest in the mere expression of those sentiments, but will endeavour to bring them to some practical and permanent result. And it is in this hope that I shall now proceed to notice one or two points suggested in the remarks put forth within the last few months by the eminent individuals to whom I have referred.

ORIGIN AND CAUSE OF DISUNION.

The first step required in every discussion which can reasonably be expected to lead to good effect upon the subject of unity is to consider *when* and *how* the parties estranged became disunited. In the case between Presbyterians and ourselves, the time, we know, was the period of transition from the unreformed to the reformed era in the history of our Scottish Church. That period of transition, which in its full extent reached from 1560 to 1690, has been thus described in one of those recently published articles to which I just now alluded, by the

Principal of our United College at S. Andrews :
“In this century and a half of turbulence and disorder, when Superintendency, Tulchan Bishops, Melville Presbytery, Spottiswoode Episcopacy, the Covenant, Restored Episcopacy, and Moderate or non-Covenanting Presbytery were jostling each other; when the whole kingdom was full of quarrelling, fighting, plotting, convulsions, reactions, and counter-revolutions, the calm pursuit of knowledge was impossible”—(‘Fraser’ for July, p. 41). And if this was true of knowledge in general, it certainly would not be less true of ecclesiastical and theological knowledge, the condition of which before the Reformation had principally given occasion for all that disturbance. Such, then, was the character of the period in which our disunion took its rise. And how was it brought about? or, in other words, what was the main cause out of which it sprang? The simplest and surest answer to this question is to be found in the fact that we—that is, the first fathers of our Church as reformed Episcopalians—could not consent to commit ourselves to such a thorough separation from the unreformed Church of Scotland as that to which it is certain the first fathers of Presbyterianism did commit themselves. Setting apart the subject of the ministry, which had been so confused and darkened by medieval Popery that at first few, if any, were able to see it in its true light, the fact, as I have stated it, is sufficiently proved by

the attempts—made on the one side and opposed on the other—to rescue, for example, the observance of the great Christian anniversaries, and of Confirmation by Bishops, aimed at in the Perth Articles of 1618 (rescinded in 1638), and of the use of liturgical worship aimed at in the Prayer-Book of 1637. It is from this point of view that Principal Tulloch, in his ‘Memoir of John Knox,’ more than twenty years since, was led to complain that the Scottish Reformation, “in the beginning and at the end, retained no sacred inheritance of traditionary story binding it by beautiful links to the great catholic past” (2d edition, p. 334); and again, in his sermon, preached before the General Assembly three years ago, to declare that “the true Church is historical in doctrine and ritual. No Church can without injury separate itself from the past—the inherited belief and traditions of Christendom” (p. 17). It is true that more recently we have witnessed an endeavour to assert for Presbyterianism, as now established, a continuity with the pre-Reformation Church; but when we remember how the first Reformed “Confession of Faith,” put forth in 1560, repudiated, *inter alia*, “antiquity and lineal descent” as marks of the true Church (Art. xviii.), and how it denounced “the ministers of the Papistical Kirk” (or, “Kirk malignant,” and “horrible harlot,” as it is also called) as “nae ministers of Jesus Christ” (Art. xxii.), it is plain that no amount of ingenuity can suffice to

obtain from competently informed persons a moment's credit to such a delusion. I cannot suppose that Dr Milligan himself shares this delusion, though a passage of his address might be so interpreted, where he says: "The Church of Scotland after the Reformation was not a new Church. There cannot be a new Church. A new Church would not be the Church. There may be offshoots from the Church. But the Church of Scotland was not an offshoot. She was the old Church in Scotland reformed" (p. 28). Rather, I should say, transformed, metamorphosed. But the truth is, the word "reformed," in its ecclesiastical application, is not a happy one, and in its stricter etymological sense, it may admit of the meaning which, I conceive, the Moderator intends. The question is—Would the first Reformers, who repudiated for themselves "lineal descent" from the unreformed Church, have been content with that meaning? Would they not have said, "We are making for ourselves a new Church"? And did they not in effect do this through the extent of the changes, the innovations which they introduced, and through the *animus* with which they boasted of introducing them? (Compare Acts of General Assembly, 1645, p. 14.) When Knox denounced his own Papal orders as a priest; when laying on of hands in ordination was virtually forbidden by the First Book of Discipline, 1560 (chap. iv. sec. 3, and chap. xvi.)—to be restored, however, in the Second Book, 1578 (chap. iii. sec.

6); and when laymen, such as Erskine of Dun, were appointed to "superintend" Presbyters in the exercise of their spiritual functions,—it would seem as if disconnection from the Church of the past could scarcely be carried further. But, however this may be, we hold that in this particular the advantage is plainly on our side. Reformation with us, as with the Church of England, has not been a transformation, but a *bona fide* continuation of the catholic past, *minus* the abuses and corruptions of medievalism—a continuation of the past in the practice of ordination by Bishops, in the observance of the rite of Confirmation, of liturgical worship, and of the great commemorations of the Christian year; but not in the usurpations of Popery, or in its additions to the Catholic creeds. After all, this matter of disconnection—or, to speak more correctly, as concerns ourselves, of recovery of liberty in our relations with the Papal Church—may fairly be regarded as a question of degree; and questions of degree are those which most readily admit of reconciliation and adjustment. On the other hand, the great and paramount advantage which Presbyterianism, as established, has over us, is this: through all changes, from 1560 downwards, it has clung to its General Assembly. The General Assembly has been, and still is, so to speak, its backbone. Justly described as "the most remarkable growth of the Reformation" (Cunningham, 'Ch. Hist.,' i. 480), it forms the connecting link between the

earliest and latest Reformed movement—the Knoxian movement of Superintendency in 1560, and the Carstares movement of moderate or non-Covenanting Presbytery in 1690; and proves that the existing Established Church is, in the view of reason as well as of law, truly national. And most wisely, if I may presume to say so, has the Moderator put the General Assembly forward as that around which we must all rally.¹ “We know,” he says, “that this House has been, not only the bulwark of our religious, but the assertor of our civil liberties” (p. 4). Yes; and we also know that that House did not repudiate Episcopacy, as such, in 1560; nor in 1690 (though it caused it to be disestablished as an abuse—as a felt practical grievance in the hands of such men as Lauderdale) did it attempt to deny its use, or disprove its Scriptural, historical, and (whether we look to Eastern or Western Christendom) its catholic claims.

¹ It is interesting to trace the General Assembly through the annals of the nation in its modern history. Coming into existence December 20, 1560, and then consisting of 40 members, of whom only 6 were ministers, it continued to meet, in increased numbers, once or twice a-year, and in some years more frequently (with the exception, apparently, of 1585 and 1599) till 1602 inclusive. Between that year and 1638, six Assemblies were held—viz., in 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618, but in 1638 and 1639 all their Acts were disallowed, and repudiated. In 1638, the meetings, discontinued during the previous twenty years, were resumed and continued yearly till 1653 inclusive, when they were suppressed under order from Cromwell and the Parliamentary army, and did not take place again during the next thirty-seven years—i.e., till 1690; from which time until now the Assembly has not ceased to meet regularly once a-year.

It is, then, these two points of departure—the departure of Knox, mainly upon ecclesiastical grounds, and the departure of Carstares, mainly upon political grounds—it is these to which we must revert in endeavouring to construct a basis upon which a prospect of reconciliation may be entertained.

For ourselves, we can truly say we sympathise with the aims of both departures. We join with Knox in repudiating the errors and aggressions of a foreign Church—the Church of Rome—and in vindicating for the laity a substantive position in the Church no less real and essential than that of the clergy. We join with Carstares in hailing the political liberty secured by the Revolution Settlement (and humanly speaking it could have been secured no otherwise), and in rejecting for the Church subserviency to despotic power, such as was practised under the Stuart dynasty. And the sentiments which I have already quoted from the Moderator's address would seem to meet us upon both grounds. It is true that, as yet, in the history of the past the way has not been found for a permanent coalition between Prelacy and the General Assembly, though attempts towards it were made in the Assemblies of 1610 and 1616—attempts which, but for the undue interference of the Crown, might have proved successful. There is, however, I believe, nothing in the nature of things to prevent such a coalition. And this, I suppose, is what the late

esteemed Principal of Aberdeen, Dr P. C. Campbell, intended when, in his book on 'The Lay Eldership,' p. 67, he wrote—"The Protestant Episcopal Church of the American United States, by its admirable constitution, combines the advantages of Presbytery and Episcopacy." Moreover, something of the same kind must be contemplated by the Bishop of Salisbury, who, in the Charge which he delivered two months ago, advocated for the Church of England the endeavour "to build up a central body, not a Synod of the clergy, but the Synod of the Church framed upon true Church principles. I shall probably be told," he proceeded, "that I am sketching out a constitution unknown to the primitive ages, and inconsistent with the principles and practices of the best times of the early Church. As far as regards the practice of the early medieval Church, I cannot deny the allegation; but I venture to assert that it is otherwise with the principles of the best ages. And I further venture to say that the gradual usurpation by the clergy of the entire government of the Church, going on and becoming complete in the proclamation of the infallibility of the Bishop of Rome, was the early germ which has led to the gradually developed perfection of the Roman corruption of the Church. We cannot go back to medieval times, but must look to the future. No one can imagine that the clergy are ever again to become the sole rulers of the universal Church.

Theory forbids it. History is full of warning against it.”¹ Such is the view of one of the most eminent Bishops now on the English bench.

But to return to the address of our Scottish Moderator, Dr Milligan. There is, I must confess, one avowal which I desiderate in that otherwise just and fair representation. Speaking of the Disestablishment question, Dr Milligan lays great stress—and very properly—upon the fact that the teinds, or tithes, are not, in any strict or equitable sense of the term, national property; that they were not given by the State, and cannot justly be taken away by it. But he omits to draw attention to the fact—surely a most important one in the argument as he urges it—that the original donors of the teinds—the landed proprietors of Scotland—were mostly forefathers of those who are now known as Episcopalians; and that, in the present day, they and their vested rights are represented by a greater number of persons who belong to our Church, than to all the Presbyterian bodies put together. The Moderator did indeed (as he intimated) refuse to listen to the un-Christian policy which has been too much followed hitherto—viz., that no notice is to be taken of us—that we are (as he expresses it) to be “left alone”; and so far we applaud his courage—we thank him for his

¹ Through the author's kindness, I have been enabled to correct more than one error in this extract, as reported both in the 'Salisbury Journal' and in the London 'Guardian.'

honest truth; but he failed to remind the favourers of that policy that more than one-half of the landed property at present tithed for the sole benefit of the Establishment is in the hands of members of our communion, men who do not belong to the Established Church, and whose fathers did not separate from it, because they were never Presbyterians.¹ But here, on the other hand, I also may be reminded that, though the proprietors themselves are for the

¹ In a volume entitled 'The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland,' which I shall have occasion to notice presently, the author, Dr Sprott, has chosen to say, p. 200 *sq.*,—"After the Revolution, when a section [of the clergy] *separated*, and formed the 'Scottish Episcopal Communion,' " &c. There must be some strange confusion and derangement of ideas in the mind of a writer, who, without intentional misrepresentation—which I certainly do not impute to Dr Sprott—can so express himself. The *differentia*—to speak logically—of the body which he describes as "The Scottish Episcopal Communion" is its Episcopate. Had this Episcopate ceased, after the Revolution, to be one and entire—had a main portion of it renounced its own personal essence, and, ceasing to be Episcopal, become Presbyterian—there might have been some pretence (though still no sufficient real ground) for such a statement *respecting the remaining portion of the body*. But that was not the case. Every one of the 14 Prelates—2 Archbishops and 12 Bishops—*remained spiritually and ecclesiastically after the Revolution just as they had been before it*, only they were denuded of their endowments, and all other civil and secular privileges. And the main portion of the other constituents of the same body, both clergy and laity, did the same. Their position in relation to the State was altered by superior force without their own consent—but that was all. And to speak of such an enforced change of position as a *separation* on the part of those who suffered it, is not only a palpable misnomer but a gross injustice. It reminds one of the so-called "fight" in the Roman satirist; *Si pugna est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.*

most part Episcopalians, yet their tenants and dependants are not; and that they (the proprietors) may fairly be expected, under the circumstances, to make provision for the worship and edification of the tillers and occupiers of the land according to the religious forms and methods of instruction which they themselves prefer. This is perfectly just and true, and I have no wish whatever to keep it out of sight. On the contrary, I desire to see it brought prominently forward as a valid argument in the eyes of all charitable and considerate men. Only let the argument be set in its proper light. Let it be borne in mind how this supposed preference has arisen in very many instances,—viz., because during the whole of the last century—and the same continues still, though in a less degree—there was, generally speaking, for the poorer classes (however, the case might be otherwise, to some extent, with the wealthier), no alternative between Presbyterianism and no religion at all;¹ and I must add, because in times past, I will not say through conscious untruth, but through insufficient or incompetent investigation, and through the violence of partisanship, a false gloss has been too often put upon the testimony both of Scripture and of history, in regard to the matters upon which the differences between Presbyterians and ourselves mainly turn.

¹ See above, p. 76 *sq.*

DR SPROTT'S LECTURES TO THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS—
ON ORDINATION.

And here I cannot refrain from making some reference to a volume lately published by a Presbyterian divine, well known and much esteemed—I mean the minister of North Berwick, Dr Sprott—because, consisting as it does of lectures delivered, under special appointment of the General Assembly, to candidates for the ministry at each of our four Scotch Universities, and dedicated, as it is, to Professor Milligan, then Moderator-designate, it naturally possesses a special interest, and is entitled to receive more than ordinary attention. One of the lectures is devoted to the subject of Ordination; and although, from the remarkable discussion on that subject which took place in this year's General Assembly, it became manifest that the teaching of Dr Sprott must differ widely from that of some other Presbyterian divines, even more distinguished and of professorial rank, yet the fact remains that his lectures were addressed, under the sanction I have mentioned, to the whole body of young men then studying divinity within the borders of the Established Church, and that their authority, so far as I am aware, has hitherto remained unchallenged from any quarter. Upon this account I have felt it my duty to look carefully into them, and not less my duty to lay before you the

result of my examination in regard to one or two particulars of principal moment and concern to us all.

In the first place, then, it is important to observe the ground which is taken up in claiming for the Presbyterian ministry a *bona fide* Apostolic succession. "It is," we read (p. 187 *sq.*), "the doctrine of the Church"—that is, the Church of Dr Sprott—"that Presbyters are the successors of the Apostles in all the ordinary functions of the ministry; and this excludes the claim of Prelates to ordain as an order above Presbyters, leaving them only the same power to ordain as that which belongs to all who are admitted to the Presbyterate." Now, that this is *not* the doctrine of *our* Church, nor of the primitive Church, nor of the Church universal, either Eastern or Western, I need not tell you; neither need I produce the endless testimony of Fathers and Councils for the first 1500 years, who assert the contrary. Even Jerome himself bears witness, "*Apud nos Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent,*" *with us Bishops hold the place of the Apostles* (Epist. ad Marcell, 3, vol. i. p. 476); and in that celebrated passage concerning the Church of Alexandria (Epist. ad Evangel, 1, *ibid.* p. 1193), where he, a Presbyter (who, be it remembered, kept up a constant feud with his own Bishop, John of Jerusalem), appears to be holding, as it were, a brief for Presbytery, the utmost he can say is, "*Quid facit, excepta Ordinatione, Episcopus quod Presbyter non*

faciat?" *What does a Bishop do, that a Presbyter cannot do, except Ordination?* EXCEPT ORDINATION; and elsewhere he excepts Confirmation also. (See Dial. contr. Lucif. 9, vol. ii. p. 146.) If Dr Sprott has any trustworthy evidence to confront with this, and with the countless other evidence to which I have alluded, it is much to be regretted that he did not produce it, and so far at least endeavour to relieve his Church from the unhappy predicament of standing outside the tradition of universal Christendom in this respect. But he goes on to say: "*All the Reformed Churches held that there are only two orders in the ministry of Divine appointment—those of Bishop or Presbyter, and Deacon. The first of these was instituted by Christ Himself in commissioning the eleven, and hence we read of no separate institution of this office as in the case of the Diaconate. When the Apostles originated the Diaconate, as recorded in Acts vi., the platform of Church government was complete as to its essential features, and it may be questioned whether any single Apostle had power to set up a new office.*" What the Venerable Bede will have to say to this view, we shall see presently. In the meantime, because we do not happen to read in "the Acts" of any formal institution of an order of Presbyters, we are to believe that the Presbyters ordained by Paul and Barnabas "in every Church," xiv. 23, were placed by them at once in the same order as their own; that the Apostles and the Pres-

byters who were gathered together in the Council at Jerusalem were of the same order; and that there was no difference of order between James and the Presbyters who were with him to receive S. Paul (xxi. 18). But Dr Sprott proceeds: "It is fully admitted, however, that there are traces of superintendency in Scripture apart from that of the Apostles, as in the case of Timothy and Titus; and the frank acknowledgment of this should be made, alike in the interests of truth and of Christian reunion." We gladly recognise the kindly spirit of this remark; and if Dr Sprott can prove the statement by which he goes on to balance, if not to neutralise, that concession, I shall not hesitate to confess that in much which I myself have previously written and published upon this question, I have been grievously mistaken. The statement I allude to is thus expressed. Such superintendents, "whether called Bishops, as in post-Apostolic times, or not, no more belonged to an order of the ministry above that of Presbyter, than did the Scottish superintendents after the Reformation, or the Moderators of our Church courts now. Episcopacy is, in short, according to this view, but a phase of Presbytery; and there never has been, nor can be, any ordination to the ministry except by Presbyters, call them what you will" (p. 189). Let us see, then, what are the arguments adduced in favour of this representation, only premising in reference to these last words that all

Bishops *are* Presbyters, in the sense in which the greater includes the less ; but it is not as Presbyters that they do now, or ever did, ordain—and to call them so in this investigation can only lead to fallacy and confusion.

First, then, we find a note in these words—"The whole Episcopal controversy turns upon the *making* of presidents in the primitive Church. It is a remarkable fact, that while the Apostolical Constitutions enjoin the laying on of hands at the ordination of Presbyters, this is omitted in the directions for the making of Bishops." Thus we are virtually asked to believe that the Episcopate is not a distinct order of the ministry, because in the primitive Church, according to this authority, it did not receive a distinct, complete, and substantive ordination, like that given to Presbyters. It cannot be said that the witness is an unexceptionable one ; nor, when we proceed to examine it, will the evidence which it gives be found either so plain or so conclusive as we are led to suppose. I scarcely need remind you that the compilation known by the name of 'The Apostolical Constitutions' is a large and heterogeneous one, in eight books of very unequal value, of uncertain authorship, and no less uncertain date ; that the first seven books are now commonly assigned to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century ; and that the eighth book, in which the passages alluded to by Dr Sprott are to be found, is probably to be placed

a century later. (See Dupin, i. 30 ; Gieseler, 'Ch. Hist.' i. 259 ; Dr Rainy, 'Bible and Criticism,' p. 95.) And what are the said passages ? First, in chap. 16, we read : " Concerning the ordination of Presbyters, I, the beloved of the Lord (*i.e.*, S. John) appoint to you, the Bishops, as follows : when thou ordainest a Presbyter, O Bishop, lay thy hand upon his head in thine own person " (*αὐτὸς*, *i.e.*, not delegating the office to another) " the Presbyters and the Deacons standing by thee, and pray, saying," &c. Next, in the following chapter, we read : " Concerning the ordination of Deacons, I, Philip, appoint thus : thou shalt make a Deacon, O Bishop, laying upon him thy hands, all the Presbyters standing by and the Deacons, and praying, thou shalt say," &c. Whereas, what we read in chap. 4, concerning the ordination of Bishops, is far more full than in the case of either of the other two orders, beginning with these words — " I, Peter, say that the Bishop to be ordained (*χειροτονεῖσθαι*, a word which of itself *may* imply the laying on of hands ; see Suicer Lex. s. v. 2), is to be, as we have all of us together already appointed, unblamable in all things ; . . . and when he has been named and approved, let the people assemble, with the Presbyters and Bishops that are present, on the Lord's Day, and let them give their consent." Then, after describing how the consent of the whole assembly is to be three times publicly accorded in favour of the person selected, the writer proceeds :

“ Silence being made, let one of the principal Bishops, together with two others, stand near the altar, and while the rest of the Bishops and Presbyters pray silently, *and the Deacons hold the Divine Gospel open upon the head of him that is being ordained*, let him say to God thus ——” &c., &c. Now, surely the impression which this description conveys, is not of an ordination less solemn in comparison with the other two, but rather of *one more solemn*; and whether hands were to be actually laid on or not (Dr Sprott assumes the negative, I think, rather too boldly), to me it appears that the action of laying the open Bible, the volume of inspiration, upon the head of the ordained Bishop, is intended to represent something even higher and more sacred—an ordination to the Apostolic office as if by the Spirit Himself, the author of Holy Scripture, and in fancied imitation of our Blessed Lord, when in finally ordaining his Apostles, as the Heads of His Church on earth, in His own stead, He did not, so far as we read, lay His hands upon them, but “He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost” (John xx. 22). But this is not all. I have said that Dr Sprott assumes rather too boldly that according to this Apostolical Constitution, there was to be no laying on of hands in the ordination of a Bishop. And my reason for saying so is this—viz., that among the Canons of the 4th Council of Carthage, held A.D. 398, which made a collection of 104 so-called

"Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiquæ," and which is said to have been attended by 214 African Bishops, including the great S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, the second statute or canon runs thus: "Episcopus cum Ordinatur, &c., when a Bishop is ordained, let two Bishops lay the book of the Gospels upon his head and neck, and hold it there, and while one of the Bishops present pronounces the blessing upon him, let all the other Bishops touch his head with their hands" (Bruns. i. 141). Palmer observes; "There is no evidence that the former practice has been generally prevalent from the most primitive ages, and therefore the Church of England has long been accustomed to present the Bible to the Prelate ordained, instead of laying it upon his shoulders" ('Orig. Liturg.' ii. 302).

But to pass on to the argument upon which Dr Sprott lays the greatest stress. It is based on the fiction of two orders in the ministry instead of three. That this is a fiction, and how the fiction arose, we shall see presently. We have already been told that "all the Reformed Churches held that there are only two orders in the ministry of Divine appointment," and now we are further informed that "one reason why these views were so prevalent at the Reformation was, that they had generally been accepted in the Church before"—that is, in pre-reformed times. "Popes and Reforming Councils had alike committed themselves to the position that a Bishop is by order

no more than a Presbyter, and his pre-eminence is merely of ecclesiastical, not of Divine right." And it is added, "The question was purposely kept open by the Council of Trent, and the old view is still common in the Roman Catholic Church" (p. 189). Now, what have we to say in reply to these statements? First, we remark—it was no easy matter to unravel all at once the sophistical web, which, by the aid of the forged decretals (see Dean Hook's 'Lives,' vol. i. pp. 300-304), and of subservient Canonists and Schoolmen, Popery had woven, during the five or six preceding centuries—the object being to depress the Episcopal in order to elevate the Papal power. With this object continually in view, it was a shrewd and clever device to minimise the Episcopate, so that it might become (to use Dr Sprott's expression) "a mere phase of Presbytery"—a device for which no real sanction (beyond the well-known, eccentric passages of Ambrosiaster and Jerome, towards the end of the fourth, and in the early part of the fifth century), no genuine evidence of any Canon or Constitution whatever, not forged and spurious, can be found until we come to the middle and latter periods of the pre-reformed age. Then indeed we may find in abundance the "Popes, and Councils," and Canonists, whom the Lutheran Church historian, Gieseler, has brought together in a long note (vol. i. p. 89), which was probably in Dr Sprott's eye, ranging from "about 1088" to 1563,

and vying with each other to maintain "the original identity of Bishops and Presbyters," and the merely ecclesiastical institution of the former. No wonder that after such proceedings for so long an interval, when the era of awakening fully arrived in the sixteenth century, it took some time, and required some more than common enlightenment, to discover where the truth really lay. But, nevertheless, what are the facts which Dr Sprott has glossed over in the words which you have heard? First of all, the Council of Trent itself, mainly under the influence of the Spanish Bishops (see 'Father Paul's Hist.,' pp. 552, 686) who manfully resisted the secret intrigues and the open dictation of the Papal partisans, passed a Canon in July 1563 (Sess. xxiii. 6), in these words: "Si quis dixerit, &c.—If any one shall say that there is not in the Catholic Church a hierarchy, *instituted by Divine ordinance* (divinâ ordinatione institutam), which consists of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, let him be Anathema." Next, passing over to the foreign Reformers, we remark that when they could not induce Rome to accept their terms—when, having no reforming Bishops among them, they could not obtain Episcopal ordination for their adherents without concessions which they thought it wrong to make—it was only natural they should have recourse to the figment of the sufficiency of ordination by Presbyters which they had virtually learnt from the Popes themselves,

and which by a most righteous *nemesis* was thus turned against its own authors. And yet even these Reformers, or at least the most learned, and the more dispassionate among them, such as Melancthon, could not prevail upon themselves to adopt this policy without much and repeatedly expressed misgiving; as appears, for instance, from the *ultimatum* which they presented to the Elector of Wittenberg in 1545, the year before Luther's death, and in which are these remarkable words: "Nothing seems more likely to promote harmony, than restoring to the Bishops ordination, *which has always been accounted* their chief or single function" (Seckendorf, 'Hist. Luth.,' ii. 538). Next, as regards the Church of England; in order to prove "that the English Church was at that time of the same mind on this subject as the rest of the Reformed," Dr Sprott reminds us that "in the book called 'The Institution of a Christian Man,' which was published in 1536, and approved by the lords both spiritual and temporal, it is declared that there are only two orders in the ministry of Divine appointment, and that the pre-eminence of Bishops was of man" (p. 190). Be it so. The book referred to is one of the three "Formularies of Faith put forth by Authority during the reign of King Henry VIII."—that is, at a time when the Church, though it had renounced the supremacy of the Pope two years before, viz., in 1534, mainly for reasons personal to the king, was still *unreformed*, and it was written,

therefore, under the misleading influence which I have before explained; whereas, when we come to the actual period of Reformation, after King Henry's death, the true light was so far recovered, that in the preface to the Ordinal, put forth in 1552, we meet with these wonderfully clear-sighted and never-to-be-forgotten words: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these *orders* of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,"—that is (as plainly appears from what follows, and from the fact that each order has a distinct formulary of ordination), *not two orders*, but *three*; and as "the Apostles' time" is spoken of, it is no less clearly to be inferred that each of the three is to be regarded, not as a mere human or ecclesiastical ordinance, in the lower sense of the word, but as an Apostolic one. And therefore what Dr Sprott can mean when he goes on to tell his theological students, and his readers in general, that "the English Ordinal contained *nothing* to distinguish the order of Bishops from that of Presbyter between the Reformation and the time of Charles II., when it was amended"—that is, from 1552 to 1662—I am utterly at a loss to conceive; seeing that in the former year, 1552, it contained that preface; and not that preface only, but a complete office, according to which a Bishop-elect was to receive a third, distinct, and certainly not less solemn ordination

(substantially the same in all respects as that we still use), with the laying on of hands of the Archbishop and of the Bishops present. Nor is there any instance in the history of the Church of England of the exercise of Episcopal functions, including the power of ordination, by one who had not been himself thus *thrice* ordained; however, between 1552 and 1662 (in which latter year the Ordinal was slightly, as Dr Sprott truly says, "amended," the requirements of the preface especially being worded somewhat more stringently, in order to exclude irregularities which had previously crept in), instances had sometimes occurred in which, as Dr Sprott points out, Episcopal ordination to the lower orders, especially in the case of foreign Protestants, or residents on the Continent, had not been insisted on. Lastly, in regard to the sentiments of individual divines, it is doubtless true that, at the first, several even of the most learned were not able (for the reason I have already given) to see their way, and were content to speak, as they had been taught by the Schoolmen, of only two "orders," though still of *three degrees*. This was the case to some extent with Hooker, though not in his latter books (see vol. ii. pp. 469, 477-482); and also with Field and Mason, and Forbes of Corse, and Ussher; all of whom, nevertheless, defend Episcopal authority as of Divine appointment, at the same time that they speak of Bishops and Presbyters as of one order. How this confusion (which, as I

have said, cannot be traced back earlier than the eleventh century, except in a few loosely dropt words of Ambrosiaster and Jerome) took its rise out of the scholastic definition of *sacerdos*—viz., one authorised to consecrate the Holy Eucharist—an action common alike to Bishop and Presbyter—you may see fully explained by Bishop Andrewes, ‘Op. Posth.’ p. 182; by Bishop Pearson, ‘Minor Works,’ vol. i. pp. 275, 286, and comp. ‘Memoir,’ p. lviii; and by Bingham, ‘Antiq.’ vol. i. p. 52, and vol. ix. p. 245. I may also refer you to my own ‘Outlines of the Christian Ministry,’ p. 130, and to my ‘Remarks on Bishop Lightfoot’s Essay’ (see above, p. 69), to which we must attribute, I fear, in part the recent revival of this medieval fallacy. And here I cannot refrain from pointing out, that whatever may be the view of a Bishop of Durham in this nineteenth century upon the question before us, the Venerable Bede, writing at Jarrow, in the same diocese, in the early part of the eighth century, with all his knowledge of British ecclesiastical history, Scotch and English, *knew nothing* of Bishops and Presbyters as constituting only one order; knew nothing of Episcopacy as a “mere phase of Presbytery,” or as an ecclesiastical and not also a Divine ordinance; as is plain from his commentary on S. Luke x. 1, respecting the mission of the seventy or seventy-two disciples—“Sicut duodecim Apostolos formam Episcoporum exhibere simul et præmonstrare *nemo est qui dubitet*, sic et hos Sep-

tuagenta duos figuram Presbyterorum—*i. e., secundi ordinis sacerdotum, gessisse, sciendum est,*”—a statement which you will do well to compare with Dr Sprott's remark, p. 192, that “the survival of some of the elements of the old Celtic Church had also a tendency in the direction of Presbytery. In the early Scottish and Irish Churches *the primitive and apostolic practice of consecrating all Presbyters Bishops* (!) seems to have prevailed longer than elsewhere.” Such, it appears, is Dr Sprott's view. On the other hand, language of the same tenor as that of the Venerable Bede, which I have just now quoted, is to be found not only in all the Councils, as I said before, but in all the Fathers from the eighth century upwards—not even excepting S. Jerome, if we take him as a whole. As to Canons and Councils bearing on the threefold ordination, and consequently the distinction of the three orders, the testimony of the “Apostolical Canons” (older and more authentic than the “Constitutions”) and of the first Œcumenical Council—the Council of Nicea—is alone sufficient. Among the former we read: “If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon receives from any one a second ordination,” — *i. e.,* in addition to that he has already received as such, “let him be deprived, and also the person who ordained him, unless he can show that his former ordination was from heretics” (c. 67 or 68). Of the twenty Nicene Canons there are not less than four (*viz.*, 3, 15, 16,

18) which recognise distinctly the three orders. I will produce only two other testimonies. One is from the accurate and impartial, because unbelieving, historian Gibbon. Describing the state of the Roman Empire under Constantine in the early part of the fourth century, he writes: "The Catholic Church was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of 1800 Bishops, of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin, provinces of the empire." And he adds, "The Bishops alone possessed the power of spiritual generation" (ch. xx.); meaning that the ordination of clergy was confined exclusively to them. The other testimony is from the judicious Hooker: "No one is able to show either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters, and his ordination accounted lawful in any ancient part of the Church" (Book vii. c. 6, sect. 5). It is simply impossible that facts such as are thus vouched for, should ever have come into existence, if there were any truth in Dr Sprott's contention that there are only two orders of Divine appointment in the Church, and that the Episcopate is not one of them. Nor, again, is it conceivable that the Ignatian Epistles could have been written—and I may remind you that even Bishop Lightfoot has now ceased to entertain any doubts concerning their genuineness—if we accept Dr Sprott's notion. These Epistles, as you will know, are full *not of a twofold, but of the threefold ministry*; so that whatever may

have been the case in the time of Knox, and of Melville, and even of Henderson—when the cloud which hung over the authenticity of the Ignatian Epistles had not yet been dispersed—it is now no longer possible for scholars to deny that the ministry of three orders is of primitive origin, and to be traced directly (S. Ignatius being a disciple of S. John) to the Apostles themselves.

My apology for entering once more into all this argument, and thereby occupying so large a portion of your time, is this: I am thoroughly determined that, so far as I can prevent it, the scandal and disgrace of the divisions at present existing between so-called Christian Churches in this country, shall not, with any semblance of justice or of truth, be laid at our door. And this is what the teaching of Dr Sprott (though he himself may have no wish to press us with the conclusion, and writes only in self-defence) really tends to. If he can prove that Episcopacy is not a necessary order, derived from the Apostles, and intended to be continued in the Catholic Church, then the Presbyterian Establishment, being confessedly an "ordinance of man," and as such claiming our "submission" by the Word of God (1 Peter ii. 13; Rom. xiii. 1, 2), I do not hesitate to say I am prepared at once to join that Establishment, and to recommend you all, both clergy and laity, to do the same; and so, without more ado, to let our disunion cease. But if Episcopacy be an ordinance

which, to use Bishop Lightfoot's words, "may well be presumed to have a Divine sanction," with a view to the permanent organisation, and consequent unity, of the Christian body—then we have no alternative but to adhere to it. That is our position. At the same time be it well observed, I have not said—nor do I mean to say—that there is no good in Presbyterian ordination (however irregular according to the strict law of the Church); or that, claiming an Apostolic descent (as it does, according to Dr Sprott's view), it is not better than a system which derives its ministerial authority, not from above, but from below; not from the perpetual gift of our Lord, as Head of the Church, to His Apostles, but from the power supposed to be inherent in the body at large. But what I do say is, that the attempt to get rid of the three orders of the ministry by reducing them to two, and so far to imitate the policy of the Church of Rome—which, though it has in all not less than seven orders in its ministry, does not reckon the Episcopate as one of them (see 'Cat. Rom.,' first published in 1566, part 2, cap. vii. 12), and thus incurs the anathema of its own Tridentine Council, declared three years before¹—such an attempt will never satisfy any learned or candid inquirer who desires to look impartially into the facts of the case.

¹This, I suppose, is what Dr Sprott alludes to when he says that "this question," *i.e.*, of the distinct order of the Episcopate, "was purposely kept open by the Council of Trent," the *Catechism* being put forth "*ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*," though "*jussu Pii v. Pont.*"

DANGER FROM TAMPERING WITH CATHOLIC TRADITION.

But further, I must not fail to warn you, as I would also venture, with all due respect, to impress upon Dr Sprott, that, if we are to depart from the records of the earlier Church, and to trust ourselves to medieval depravations, there is much to be said, upon grounds of Scripture, in favour of the theory of Congregationalism or Independency—in other words, of a system of ordination and of Church government which is derived, not from above, but from below. It is right, especially in these days, when even the distinction between clergy and laity is liable to be called in question, that your attention should be drawn to the fact that, notwithstanding we are wont to boast of the increased study given to Holy Scripture, and the improved processes of interpretation that are now applied to it, we are still exposed to doubt upon many of the most important texts; and among these, upon that great text, with which S. Matthew concludes his Gospel (xxviii. 16-20, comp. Mark xvi. 14-16): “Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them,” &c., &c. We are accustomed to regard those words as addressed by our Lord only to the eleven Apostles, and as con-

Max.” This is a new way of keeping a question “open”—to assert it in one document, and deny it in another!

taining the "fundamental charter" of our clerical commission; and as such they are appealed to in the Introduction to our Scottish Code of Canons (p. x), and our Anglican Ordinal reads them as an alternative Gospel in the consecration of Bishops. But in controversy, at least, it will be no longer prudent to assume this. There are many commentators, and some even of our divines, who harmonise the appearance of our Lord there spoken of with that which He made to the "five hundred brethren at once" (1 Cor. xv. 6). It will not surprise you, perhaps, that the latter view appears to be favoured by Bishop Lightfoot. (Essay, p. 267, comp. 257 and my Remarks, p. 18.) But the same is adopted in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' And Bishop Ellicott, in his 'Historical Lectures' (p. 411, note, 5th edit.), plainly states that "nearly all the best recent expositors concur in supposing that the appearance of our Lord mentioned by S. Matthew xxviii. 16 is identical with that alluded to by S. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 6." And it is in accordance with this view, pushed to its full extreme, that in the last publication of the late Dean Stanley—his 'Christian Institutions'—we read the following words, which are quoted with apparent approval in the 'Edinburgh Review' of October last, p. 321: "In the first beginning of Christianity there was no such institution as the clergy; and it is conceivable that there may be a time when they shall cease to be." Happily, on the other side, as

regarding those solemn words of our Lord in the light of a commission to the Apostles and to their successors, "even unto the end of the world," we have living theologians, such as the Bishop of Salisbury (Great Forty Days, p. 46 *sq.*), and the Bishop of Lincoln (*in loc.*), and the Bishop of Edinburgh (Sermon on Unity, 1879, p. 6), together with one who stands at the very head of modern commentators in Germany—I mean Dr Meyer, in whose judgment the other interpretation is "purely arbitrary." It is not, then, to be doubted that the Gospel prescribes a ministry—a *bonâ fide* clerical ministry—and one which (as we and Presbyterians, or at least, I suppose, the greater body of them, are agreed) derives its sanction, not from below, but from above. But in regard to the characteristics and conditions of this ministry, so long as we and Presbyterians are not agreed, not only must obedience to the Divine command of unity be explained away, or rather cast, as it were, to the winds, but we must expect to see, as we do see, irregular agencies (always uncertain in their work, and exposed to great temptations) stepping in to perform our common duty, and to challenge the respect and attention which we, by our divisions, have done so much to forfeit. It has been well observed that "men will no longer think it strange that God should have ordained a continuous ministry from above when they perceive its value as a guarantee for purity

of doctrine, and independence of moral teaching " (Bampt. Lect. 1881, p. 291). But this implies that the continuous ministry shall be one and undivided, at least in each Christian nation; otherwise men will be at a loss to determine which is the true ordinance of God; and its own strength, as a Divine organism for the conversion and edification of Christ's people, will be greatly impaired and frittered away.

In the meantime, nothing is to be gained, and much may be lost, by attempting to precipitate measures which, if they are to heal effectually disorders of so complicated a nature and such long continuance, must themselves be the growth of much prolonged and cautious deliberation. And I do not hesitate to add that the best contribution which we ourselves can severally make towards the attainment of the desired end is, first, by earnest and persevering prayer to the Giver of all good to bestow upon us the great blessing which we now lack; and next, by endeavouring to increase, through all legitimate means, our own personal influence in our respective spheres. And how is this latter object—the gaining and extending of personal influence—to be accomplished? It is little to say, that we must abstain from all conscious insubordination among ourselves, and from all arrogant or uncharitable language and behaviour towards our Presbyterian brethren of every degree. Much more than this is required of every one of us. It must be

seen that, as clergy, you are devoted, not by constraint, but heartily, to all the duties of your sacred office: your constant public and domestic worship, your diligent and carefully studied and prepared preaching, your punctual and affectionate ministrations to the sick within your charge, your utter renunciation of all undue worldliness in your daily walk and conversation—these must be seen and read of all men. Further, it must be seen that you understand the true nature of the office into which you have been admitted, and that you value it at its real worth; otherwise it is hopeless to expect that your duties will be performed in the proper spirit, or that the performance itself will reach to that elevation, or be supported by the self-sacrifice, which the Scripture teaches and demands. Looking to our Church at large, it may be that there are to be found among our clergy tendencies or indications sufficient to give occasion for the taunt which is sometimes brought against us—of sacerdotalism. Into the nicer questions which that word may raise, I have little inclination, and the time forbids me, now to enter. Only let me say, if it be sacerdotalism to expect and believe that to those whom He has called by His Spirit to the holy ministry of His Church, God will give the necessary grace and power (see 2 Tim. i. 6) to enable them to discharge the momentous functions of that ministry for the salvation of souls in a way beyond what He gives

to others who are not so called and ordained¹—if this be sacerdotalism, then I trust we are all sacerdotalists. But if it means that we hold ourselves entitled to be lords over the faith of our lay brethren, or to abridge the full liberty that they have, no less than ourselves, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or to exclude them from their due share in the conciliar action of the Church, then I hope we have no part in it. So long as we work in this spirit and upon these principles, we have undoubtedly much to encourage us. On the one hand, with the balance of Scripture evidence, if intelligently weighed, and with the whole tenor of early ecclesiastical history, if truthfully represented, in our favour—and, on the other hand, with the greater part of the landed proprietary, and a very large share of the cultured intelligence, of the country on our side,—we may well feel confidence in our position, notwithstanding that our present numbers include so small a portion of the general population; a fact,

¹ Having before referred to the remarkable discussion which took place in this year's General Assembly, on the subject of ordination—a discussion followed by a resolution, which appears to compromise the position of the Established Church in regard to that important matter—I am glad to call attention to a sermon of Principal Tulloch, preached before the General Assembly in 1879, on "The Ideal of the Church," in which he spoke of "the Divine *charisma* imparted to Timothy by his ordination to the Christian ministry," and described that *charisma* or gift as "the special qualification of Timothy for his high office of pastor and bishop in the Church" (p. 3.) [See above, p. 20, note 2.]

however, which is fully accounted for by reasons entirely extrinsical to the truth of our cause, and which, consequently, *in foro conscientie* can be regarded as of little or no weight. And, entertaining and cherishing this legitimate confidence, we shall feel no grudge—rather we shall cordially rejoice—at the recovered strength and increased energy of our brethren of the Established Church, thanking God for their good works, and praying that, until it shall please Him to reconcile and reunite us again into one body, the only contention, the only provocation and rivalry, seen between us may be, which shall be foremost in the pursuit of all things true, honourable, just, pure, lovely, and of good report; which shall show to the other with greater constancy and alacrity the “more excellent way.” Acting thus, we shall at least be contributing our own share towards recovering the unity for which our Redeemer prayed, in order that the world might believe that God had sent Him. (John xvii. 21.)

APPENDIX.

As carrying on the subject of the foregoing Synodal Address, it may be useful to reprint here the concluding sentences of my Charge for the following (*i.e.*, last) year, together with the important letter of Professor Milligan, to which I then referred.

I cannot conclude this address without alluding to the gratification which I have felt, and which, I am sure, you will all share with me, in reading only two days ago the letter of Professor Milligan which appears in the 'Catholic Presbyterian' for the present month. Under the title of "Church Union," its avowed object is to advocate a unity in Scotland which shall embrace our Episcopal Church; and coming from an ex-Moderator of the Established General Assembly, and one of the most learned and most influential of Presbyterian divines, it is to be hoped that some of you may live to see the happy effects, which, under God's blessing, it is calculated to produce. In the meantime, we may well be thankful that a spirit so truly Christian, and so truly catholic, should have found expression, so able and so just, in a channel which cannot fail to convey its sentiments to leading members of the Presbyterian Churches not only in Scotland but throughout the world.

The following is a copy of Dr Milligan's letter thus referred to:—

CHURCH UNION.

[*To the Editor of the 'Catholic Presbyterian.'*]

THE UNIVERSITY,
ABERDEEN, 1st August 1883.

DEAR SIR,—Referring to some remarks of yours on words which seem to have been used by me at the meeting of last General Assembly, with regard to the Pan-Presbyterian Council, allow me to say that I sincerely regret that any words of mine should have caused you a “painful sensation.” Had it not been for this I should probably have thought it best to act on the rule which I generally observe; and to have left what I said, together with your comment on it, to make their own impression. But it is difficult to be silent when you, for whom I entertain so great a respect, are the speaker, and when you speak in so kind a manner.

Without attempting to plead that the expression which has pained you was, perhaps, a hasty one, let me say that any difficulties I have with regard to the Pan-Presbyterian Council have no connection whatever with desire for union between the Established Churches of Scotland and England. I can say with perfect truth that, in any remarks I have ever made on the subject of union, I have never separated the Established Church of Scotland from the other Presbyterian branches of the Church of Christ in our land, and that I have never even alluded to the Church of England as a Church with which we need at present think of being united. It is the Episcopal Church in Scotland that I have always had in view; and, in thinking of Presbyterianism, I have certainly thought as much of those separated from the Established Church as of the Established Church itself.

The question with me, in the first place, is simply this: Is it not the positive duty of the different branches of the Church of Christ in Scotland to consider the miserable condition to which that Church has been reduced by their suspicions of, and their struggles with, each other? I look at this matter wholly apart from any influence which it may have upon the question of Disestablishment. I de-

cline to inquire whether union would hasten or retard that crisis. Disestablishment sinks into absolute insignificance when compared with the tremendous issues that are otherwise at stake, and on which it appears to me that those who are devoting their strength to the effort to accomplish it, too much close their eyes, in order that they may gain a victory which, even if good flow from it in some direction, will undoubtedly disappoint them.

But to let that pass as a thing with which I have at present little to do, and which is in itself an intrusion on the infinitely more momentous questions demanding the immediate attention of Christian men, my plea is that the Christian Church is weakened, and that the Christian religion is dishonoured, by our divisions to an extent unfitting us for the simple and earnest discharge of our most sacred duties, and depriving us of that fulness of blessing from the Great Head of the Church which might otherwise be ours.

The thought of Christianity as a positive revelation from God is at this moment dying out among us with a rapidity which fills one with alarm and consternation; and it is in great measure so dying out because our contentions have defaced and prostrated in the dust that Church of Christ, to which our Lord committed the guardianship of His truth, and which He commissioned, in one form or another of visible unity, to be the messenger of His mercy to men. Until such time as there springs up in our minds a true conception of what the Church of Christ really is in her organic unity and in her outward manifestation of herself as the body of Christ, I cannot but think that the efforts which the Pan-Presbyterian Council proposes to itself will be largely, if not wholly, in vain. They will even be apt to mislead. That Council has not yet risen to the idea of the unity of the Church of which I have spoken. It is occupied with the idea of alliance between the Presbyterian bodies alone. Even were it to rise above the conception of alliance, it could not, from its very nature, go beyond that of a great Presbyterian unity upon the present basis of the Presbyterian system. Now I shall not discuss the question whether a large Presbyterian Church so constituted

would be a blessing, or whether there is not some risk that it might prove a burden which neither we nor our children would be able to bear. Keeping to the point immediately before us, I wish rather to say that my difficulty connected with the Pan-Presbyterian Council is, that its aim is too restricted. When alliance, or any tendency to union, is spoken of, I cannot see the Scriptural character of the restriction made by it. It ought to embrace all the branches of the Reformed Church of Christ in Scotland. The Episcopal Church is one of these; and the moment we speak of union, we are bound to embrace them all, unless they deliberately exclude themselves.

It may be answered, The Episcopal Church will certainly do so. I cannot conceal from myself that it may; but it has not yet done it. It has not yet been tried. Or it may be said, That Church will demand concessions which we shall never be able to make. Again, it may be so; but some concession will be on both sides necessary to union. You yourself say, "The Presbyterian Council has never been fanatically Presbyterian. It has never denied that in the Episcopal Church there are features which might with advantage be imported into the Presbyterian and other Churches." It seems to me that the Episcopal Church will not refuse to employ similar language with regard to Presbyterianism. It is at least a fact that many of the most zealous of the clergy of the Church of England are at this moment turning their eyes with the deepest interest to the Church of Scotland, as a Church in its relation to the State possessing privileges the want of which they keenly feel. It is not less a fact that there is no Church in Scotland the ministers of which are lamenting more deeply the divisions of our Scottish Christianity, or who are more earnestly desirous to make every effort to heal them, than those of the northern branch of the Episcopal Church. In these circumstances, no one can claim a right to say that healing efforts which shall include Scottish Episcopacy must necessarily prove vain.

In addition, however, to these considerations of principle upon which I am perfectly content to rest my case,

surely the attempt to reconcile Episcopalians is of the utmost consequence to the best interests of religion in our land. No one can justly reproach me with a desire to conciliate the rich at the cost of the poor. I have rather to reproach myself with having, throughout the course of a lengthened ministry, gone perhaps too much in precisely the opposite direction. I have the less need, therefore, to hesitate in saying, that it is to my mind a matter of the utmost consequence to bring our landed proprietors and their tenantry and cottars together in the same Church. To effect this would be of the greatest benefit to both. Yet it will not do to say, Let, then, the landed proprietors become members of the Presbyterian Church. It would be unpardonable presumption to address them in such language. They have as good a right to be Episcopalian as their tenants and cottars have to be Presbyterian. The cry, "Scotland for the Presbyterians," is to my mind one without a principle to rest on; while it, at the same time, contains in itself the first elements of that persecuting spirit of which our past history affords on all sides too many illustrations. The only cry that can be justified is, "Scotland for the Church of Christ." With these feelings, though I could never go to an Episcopalian landowner and say to him, You ought to become a Presbyterian, I could go to him and say; Let us consider well whether, for your own sake and that of others, it might not be possible to effect a compromise—in matters in which the Church is entitled to make compromises—for the common welfare. Is it quite certain that either clergy or landed proprietors would not listen to such language? Is there no reason to believe that they are as sensible to existing evils, and as anxious to amend them, as any of us can be? I, for one at least, will not believe the contrary until I see it. There is a sufficient amount of genuinely Christian and patriotic feeling among the landlords of Scotland to warrant the belief that nothing would be more grateful to them as a whole than that they and those dependent upon them should, in the deepest and most wholesome of all bonds, be more united than they are.

The Pan-Presbyterian Council does not seem to me to encourage such thoughts, and I doubt, therefore, if it can do real good. What we want is not an intensification of the Presbyterian spirit, but more superiority to cries and echoes of cries which prevent men speaking out their minds, and seeking after truths higher than all their present systems, and in which these systems might, with infinite advantage to them all, be merged.

As a general rule I cannot but shrink from all combinations in favour of any particular "ism," whether the combination be Pan-Presbyterian or Pan-Anglican. To combine for the purpose of acknowledging our deficiencies, confessing our shortcomings, and striving after something so much better than we are, that it would be worth while to perish for the sake of reaching it, is a very noble aim. But that is not the ordinary aim of combinations in favour of particular party-systems, and I fear that is not the aim of the Pan-Presbyterian Council.

In conclusion, I hope that no one, from what I have now said, will charge me with disloyalty to the Church of which I am a minister, or to the system in which I live. I am thoroughly and truly loyal to them, and all the more so, that I believe there may be higher and better states of things to which a large and generous Christian combination might gradually bring us.

It was under the influence of feelings such as these that I made the remark by which you have been pained. I hope that my rather lengthy explanation will appear to you the best tribute that I can pay to yourself personally, as well as the best proof that I can give of earnest desire to see those ills amended which I am sure you lament as much as I do.—Yours very truly, WM. MILLIGAN.

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